ENGLISH WRITERS

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AN ATTEMPT TOWARDS

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

BY

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VII

FROM CAXTON TO COVERDALE

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COME L'UOM S'ETERNA

—*Dante*

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CHAPTER I

NEW LIFE —THE GREEKS IN ITALY —GROCYN AND LINACRE AT OXFORD

Renaissance

RENAISSANCE was, at first, a term in architecture It applied then only to the use of old Greek ornaments on buildings not essentially Greek in plan Walls were adorned with columns that had nothing to support, and beauty was a warrant for unreason This Renaissance was of the fifteenth century It began in Rome with Filippo Brunelleschi, an architect who had first shown his sense of beauty as a sculptor * He left Rome in 1420, and he died in 1444

* Donatello and Brunelleschi were close friends Vasari tells that Donatello, having carved in wood with utmost care a Crucifix for the Church of Sta Croce at Florence, looked for his friend's praise But Brunelleschi told him that the figure on the cross was rather that of a day labourer than of the Christ, whose person must have been of highest beauty, since He was, in all things, the most perfect man "It is easy to find fault," said Donatello "Take a piece of wood yourself, and try to make a better Crucifix" Brunelleschi said no

The word Renaissance found favour, and was next applied to the recovered interest in Latin classics, and their influence on style in Italy Then it advanced until it came to be a name for the new life on Latin soil, so far as that was quickened by the genius of ancient Rome Its use grew wider until it included vaguely all the movements that led up to Dante, all work of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, all gain of strength by other lands from the new forces of the fifteenth century, which was at first regarded, and is still to be regarded, as the proper age of the Italian Renaissance For Italy alone had a Renaissance In Europe it was only possible for Italy or Greece to show the semblance of a second birth

Dark Ages

In Italy, Rome's old world gone, the roar of elements that were to build a larger world not Cæsar's, might suggest a reign of Chaos and old Night Where glowing furnaces roar through the night, and ashes take the place of the fresh grass, we call it the Black Country What tools for use of man, what engines of great ships that unite land with land, draw their first being from that seeming waste! So Italy might say she had Dark Ages We had none The spirit of Virgil left the palaces of Rome, and there was darkness till it came again as guide of Dante to the verge of heaven We had not such a past of high artistic culture to be lost in darkness and

more In the next month, he carved secretly a Crucifix according to his own ideal When it was done, he set it up on his ground floor in a good light, and went to fetch his friend to dine with him On their way to the house he bought eggs and other eatables, and put them into Donatello's apron, asking him to go on with them, he would follow directly When he did follow, he found Donatello still with his eyes fixed upon the Crucifix His hand had let the apron drop, and its contents were scattered broken on the floor "How shall we dine now?" said Brunelleschi "I have enough," said his friend "Yes, you have power to shape the figure of Christ, and I can only carve day-labourers."

restored to light In France, Germany, England there was nothing but a continuity of growth, hindered or helped in each land by surrounding difficulties and the ways of meeting them In each, free effort was advance, the breath of life was liberty True progress is the work of reason, that free energy of thought through which alone a people hears the voice and speaks the praise of God

Provence* could sing when Arab science and the learning of the Jewish schools gave light to her cities, active in trade, strong in municipal rights, Toulouse all but in name a republic Her first troubadour, fired with enthusiasm for what seemed to him the noblest of all earthly aims, went at the head of a great host to the Crusades The laymen of Provence could fill their land with music, and could bring their souls to battle for what seemed to be the cause of God, at home against the sensual Christian priest, abroad against the infidel possessor of the places holy to the Christian But when the spirit of Crusade brought Christian against Christian, when brute force warred at home against the use of thought, advance was stayed The free life of the South of France was lost in flame and massacre by the crusade against the Albigenses †

Provence

But the voice of Provence swelled the Sicilian music With Frederick II for their leader,‡ men of many lands and many creeds joined their free forces in Palermo Minds at Palermo were as free as they could be where bodies were enslaved to luxury Arabs in Sicily were numerous, Arabs in friendly fellowship with Greeks In the eighth century the Sicilian Church was Greek, and in the eleventh century the chroniclers of Sicily under the Norman rule made such wide difference between the Eastern and the

Sicily

Byzantium

* "E W" iii, chap 1, and pages 148—152 † "E W" v 4
‡ "E W" iii, chap 16, "The Italian Revival"

Western Church that they distinguished Greeks from Christians There was old warrant for the cry that met the first endeavours to revive Greek scholarship in Europe, *Cave a Græcis, ne fias hæreticus* Until the tenth century, not only Calabria, Naples, Capua, Salerno, but also Venice owned the sovereignty of Byzantium Architects, sculptors, workers in mosaic, were Byzantine In the year of the Norman conquest of England, the Abbot Didier, of Monte Cassino, who became Pope Victor III, sent to Constantinople for sculptors and workers in mosaic—"whose figures seem to live, and whose pavements are like flower-beds because of the variety of stones of every tint"—and he caused children to be taught by them Through them there shot a last ray of the art of ancient Greece, that lingered yet about the monastery of Mount Athos

The Normans in Sicily

While Didier was at Monte Cassino, Tancred's son, Roger I, had supplanted power of the Greeks and Arabs with his Norman rule as Count of Sicily Tancred's grandson, Roger II, joining Sicily with Naples, was crowned King of the Two Sicilies in 1131 But the Arab population was left undisturbed, and the Greeks had freedom of worship New elements of life were added The trouvère and the chronicler brought their keen interest in fabled or true stories of the deeds of men to blend with song and satire of the South, with science of the Arabs, with the last throbs of the dying music of Greek art * All this and more was ready to his hand when Frederick II laid, as we have seen, the founda-

Frederick the Second

* "I have surpassed thee, O Solomon!" Justinian said, when, in the sixth century, Anthemius of Thralles had in six years finished, at his command, the Church of Santa Sophia Of this building, James Fergusson said in his "History of Architecture" that, internally at least, it is "the most perfect and most beautiful church which has yet been erected by any Christian people"

tions of a larger Renaissance * We have seen also† how the vigour of a mixed race in the North of Italy bred among free cities the spirit that raised Dante to full height, and made him, when he joined the Southern music to the Northern energy of thought, first Master Poet of the modern world We have seen how Petrarch and Boccaccio carried on the great Revival in the fourteenth century,‡ and, above all, how the art of Chaucer was perfected by his study of the work of those three Patriarchs of modern literature So it was that by contact with the fulness of Italian Renaissance, Chaucer became first Master Poet of our English world Now let us look abroad for forces active in the fifteenth century that joined with the Invention of Printing to advance the energies of life in England

Dante

Chaucer

The schools of Paris had been nurseries of logic After long endeavour to give philosophical form to accepted dogmas of the Church, the scholastic philosophy, of English birth in the days of John Scotus Erigena,§ but chiefly nursed in Paris, died among us in the days of William Occam || All change in history is gradual The most unexpected outbursts have been long in silent preparation Dante himself flashed the glory of the future from the mirrors of the past, Wyclif laboured towards the restoration of pure Christianity through terms of the old schoolmen and forms of metaphysical theology His metaphysical distinctions perished in the using, while they left clear in men's view his practical ideal of a Christian Church ¶

Gradual Change

As Paris had taught abstract Philosophy, the Universities of Italy taught Law They dealt with civil rights and daily

* "E W" iii 383—390
† "E W" iii 390—406
‡ "E W" iv, chap 2
§ "E W" ii 250—259
|| "E W" iii 326, v 9—14, 52
¶ "E W" v 35—82

needs of men They cared only for the philosophy that served as guide on solid ground through difficulties that beset us in the home or in the street In that respect the people of North Italy have much in common with the English race

The ancient house of the Medici in Florence was enriched by commerce, and for many generations it had helped to maintain popular rights against encroachments of the aristocracy In 1377, about the time when Chaucer drew upon Boccaccio for his poem of "Troilus and Cressida," and not long before our own Jack Straw rebellion, Salvestro de' Medici, one of that noble popular family, as Macchiavelli called it, was made Gonfaloniere that he might give strength to the people's cause He checked the nobles, but could not restrain the people In party strife men usually then joined revenges with reforms, and often troubled Florence with a petty revolution Strife rose and fell Florence was a town with 150,000 inhabitants, and a revenue of 300,000 gold florins, and when she had no war without her gates, within her gates the people could one day be quieted by a judicious speech, and next day rose again in revolution The mob, when angry, burnt houses, freed prisoners, "seized," says Macchiavelli, "the Standard della Giustizia, burned many houses under it, and persecuted all whom they were angry with, whether on public or private account Many, to satisfy a private grudge, would lead the tumult to the houses of their adversaries They had only to cry out in the multitude, 'To such a house, to such a man,' or he who carried the Standard had only to direct it to such a place. They burned the accounts and books of the Company of the Clothing Trade, and after they had done mischief good store, that they might accompany their exorbitance with some laudable action, they made Salvestro de' Medici a knight, and conferred like honour

The Medici in Florence

upon sixty-four more of the partners, some of whom received their honour much against their wills And it is remarkable that some of those persons whose houses were burned, were thus on the same day knighted by the men who burned them, so unconstant are the people, and so small is the distance between their kindness and their spirit of revenge"*

Veri de' Medici, who, after Salvestro's death, became head of the family, was a few years later, in 1381, also besought by the people to take the government and free them from the tyranny of citizens who were the enemies of every good But Veri de' Medici, more virtuous than ambitious, told the Senate that he was not sorry to have lived so that he had earned the love of the people, but that he would keep from faction He urged the nobles to be temperate, and when they assented to his counsel he went out and, with wise words, persuaded the armed populace to peace Veri de' Medici subdued the strife, but the advantage thus gained by the nobles they did not use temperately

Giovanni de' Medici

The good name of the Medici among the people rose yet higher when Giovanni, son of Bicci, became head of their house Giovanni de' Medici was born in 1360, and died on the 20th of February, 1429 (new style) In his time the wealth of trading Florence was augmented by the purchase of Leghorn and its port from Genoa The free commonwealth was unrivalled in commercial prosperity Its citizens were active in all quarters of the world There was a treaty even with the Soldan of Babylon for currency within his realm of the coin of Florence The strength thus gathered was soon to be absorbed and exhausted in the domination of the Medici, but, like his forefathers, the rich banker Giovanni, made

* Macchiavelli's History of Florence, bk iii Translation of 1675

Gonfaloniere in 1421, owed his political rise to his goodwill towards the people The war with Filippo Visconti, Duke of Milan, begun by Florence in 1423, was to check aggression upon the free cities of Tuscany But the war began ill, and Florence might have fallen in the fight for liberty if Venice had not at last consented to alliance with her Victory cost Florence three and a half millions of florins, and the popular Giovanni de' Medici, who had been at the head of a peace party, obtained political supremacy by the invention and establishment of an equitable income tax for payment of the public debts The tax was a half per cent on incomes, as a forced loan to the Government at five per cent, or a third part of the tax might be paid, with abandonment of right to interest and repayment Money was worth much more than five per cent to the traders of Florence, but the deductions allowed before charging for this income tax secured to everyone untaxed his house, his horse, and two hundred florins a year for each mouth in his household Thus there was a protection against general discontent, and licence for irregular taxation The half per cent, or decima, was soon taken as the mere unit of calculation, and forced loans of this or that number of decimas, for this or that new exigence of the State, might afterwards be raised at the discretion of the ruler Such loans were raised now and then as often as twelve times a year, to feed the magnificence of one man at the expense of commerce which had given freedom and strength to the city, and which had sent up that strong shoot of artistic life whereof the later Medici consumed the fruit

In 1429 Giovanni died, "enormously rich in treasure, but richer still in good repute," lord only of his counting house He had steadily rejected the advice of his son Cosimo that he should take advantage of his position in the city by placing himself at the head of the popular party against the weaker faction of the aristocracy, and so rise to political

power "He was," says Macchiavelli, "charitable to the height, not only relieving such as asked, but preventing the modesty of such as he thought poor, and supplying them without it He loved all people the good he commended, the bad he commiserated He sought no office, and went through them all He never went to the palace but invited He was a lover of peace, and an enemy to war He relieved those who were in adversity, and those who were in prosperity he assisted He was no friend to public extortion, and yet a great augmenter of the common stock He was courteous in all his employments, not very eloquent, but solid and judicious His complexion appeared melancholy, but in company he was pleasant and facetious He died rich, especially in love and reputation, and the inheritance of all descended upon his son Cosimo"

Cosimo de' Medici

When Cosimo—named from his birth on St Cosimo's Day in 1389—became chief of his house, he became chief also of the popular party, which he led as a faction It was faction against faction, chief against chief, and some began to ask themselves to which of the chiefs Florence would have to yield her independence Cosimo's antagonists achieved his banishment in October, 1433, and thereby added to his strength Venice welcomed him, Florence missed him Friends and poor citizens suffered for want of access to the purse by which he made himself beloved A signory favourable to the Medici was voted into office, the aristocratic faction failed in an attempt at armed resistance, and Cosimo—Cosmo—was recalled, to enter Florence in great triumph as the father of his country

His first care was for the exile, fine, imprisonment, or death of the stronger men of the opposite side Having weeded out enemies, or suspected enemies, he and his comrades strengthened new men into serviceable friends, divided the goods of the outlawed, made new and con-

venient laws, suppressed elections of unfriendly magistrates, and took means, by bribing and by tampering with the purses from which names of magistrates were drawn, to confine to men of their own faction all offices in which powers of life and death were vested Power of life and death was given to the eight , chance of return was almost wholly cut off from the exiles Thus the faction led by Cosmo was supreme It has been said that to a remonstrance on the ruin caused to the city by so many deaths and fines and banishments of worthy citizens, Cosmo replied that a city ruined was better than a city lost, and that it cost only a few yards of red cloth to make more citizens worshipful Twenty families, says one old historian, were banished by the Medici for every one that suffered with them The exiled leader of the aristocratic faction invited the arms of the tyrant of Milan to an attack on Florence , and the city again fought manfully against foreign despotism while her liberties were sickening at home

From the year 1434, when Cosmo's influence became supreme in Florence, until 1455, Cosmo, as Governor, had the support of the citizen, Neri Capponi, whose name, after his own, stood highest with the people But in 1455 Neri Capponi died Cosmo's supporters were also kept from feuds among themselves during the twenty-one years between 1434 and 1455, by the strength of the opposing faction Reality of power was maintained by close attention to the wishes of the people In 1455 divisions began in the party of the Medici, and the Florentines suffered much from the rapacity of leading citizens, till Cosmo's death in 1464

When Cosmo's infirm son Piero succeeded him he found that there were few persons of influence in Florence who were not in Cosmo's debt He had given much to the poor. He had kept Florence free from war without her gates, and had done much to allay the feuds within He had built half a dozen princely houses for himself, but had concealed

his princely power, called himself a citizen, and sought for his children no princely alliances He had built convents and repaired churches in Florence He built a hospital even in Jerusalem He was not learned, though a friend, partly from policy, of learned men, under conditions that made the time of his rule in Florence an essential part of the History of Literature It was at Florence that the learned Greeks, who were driven from home by the capture of Constantinople, had from Cosmo de' Medici their warmest welcome

Greek Scholars in Florence

Greek Christians, who sought aid from the nations of the West, made politic effort to heal the division upon points of ceremonial between the Eastern and the Western Churches The Council of Basel, which was transferred to Ferrara, and again to Florence, brought together in Florence, in the year 1439, the Pope Eugenius IV and the Patriarch Joseph of Constantinople, with many Greek bishops and scholars, and also the unfortunate Greek Emperor, John Palæologus Talk of Plato thus first became familiar to the chiefs of Florentine society The Eastern Church assented in five articles to Western opinion, and united itself to the Church of Rome But this act of union did not secure the desired end of saving Constantinople from the Turk, and after the fall of the Eastern capital the two Churches fell back into their old state of schism More came of the intellectual appetite of the rich merchants and bankers of Florence for commerce with men who had something new to traffic in —Greek manuscripts worth reading, and the skill to read them

The Byzantine Empire had in 1425, by a treaty of the Emperor John Palæologus II, been reduced to Constantinople and its environs, with some outlying places These were held subject to a yearly tribute, which transferred the larger part of their revenues to the Turk The treaty was observed by Sultan Amurath II But his son

Mohammed II, in the third year of his reign, began, at the age of about three-and-twenty, his career of conquest by overthrowing all that remained of the Roman Empire in the East After fifty-eight days' siege, he took Constantinople by storm, on the 29th of May, in the year 1453 Five years later he made himself master of the Morea Occupation of Greece by the Turks drove the Greek patriots and scholars into exile They sought a livelihood in foreign capitals by teaching their old language, and diffusing knowledge of the treasures of its literature Thus Greek became a part of European scholarship, and Plato lived again, to join the ranks of the reformers

The Fall of Constantinople, May 29th, 1453

Study of Greek by Italians began with the Greek settlements of the South, when Calabria was known as Magna Græcia, and had a liturgy in Greek, not Latin Petrarch learnt Greek from Barlaam, a monk of Calabria But Boccaccio was taught for three years by Leontio Pilato, a Greek of Thessalonica, who read Homer in Florence about the middle of the fourteenth century Leontio passed from Florence to Venice, met Petrarch, went to Constantinople, and perished in a storm on the Adriatic when returning Boccaccio* described him as a horrid man with a vile face, long-bearded and black-haired, occupied with settled meditation, of uncultivated manners, not as civil as he should be, but, as Boccaccio said he had reason to know, most learned in Greek literature Petrarch, who called him Leo, did not believe that Leontio was a Greek, but said he was a Calabrian who wished to be thought a Greek of Thessalonica

Students of Greek in Italy

George Gemisthus, surnamed Pletho, was a Platonist and mathematician who lived in high esteem at the Court of the Grand Dukes of Tuscany, and who distinguished him-

* "*Genealogia Deorum,*" xv 6

self in 1439 at the Council of Florence Among his books was a Commentary on the Magic Oracles of Zoroaster He wrote also a book on the difference between Plato and Aristotle, and a History of what followed the Battle of Mantineia, with elucidations of Thucydides

Gemisthus Pletho is said to have taught one of the most illustrious of the earlier group of Greek scholars in Italy, Manuel Chrysoloras Chrysoloras was of a noble family in Constantinople, distinguished generally for high culture, and he had transmitted to him by an uncle, Johannes Eudæmon Palæologus, a place at Court concerned with the advancement of knowledge He was in high credit for his Philosophy, which then comprehended all studies, and especially for his knowledge of Natural History When Constantinople was beset by Bajazet, Manuel Chrysoloras was sent to seek money and troops from the princes of Western Europe He was away upon his mission for three years, and he brought money back France also, at his persuasion, sent four ships under command of Marshal Boucicault Then Manuel Chrysoloras was invited to Florence, with the offer of a hundred florins a year for ten years The intention was that he should found in Florence a school for the study of Greek Literature, the desire for which had been stirred by previous visits of Barlaam and Leontio Pilato Manuel Chrysoloras went, in 1396, by way of Venice to Florence It was in September of that year, 1396, that Bajazet defeated at Nicopolis the Christian army under Sigismund of Hungary Chrysoloras stayed only three years at Florence His Emperor was then himself in Italy to seek for help against the Turk, and Chrysoloras went with him to Milan, where probably he also taught In 1402, after the death of Galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan, Chrysoloras went to Venice, where he served as agent for Manuel his Emperor It was the year in which Timour's conquests made the Greek Empire

tributary to the Tartar, who dismembered also, in 1403, the Empire of the Turk, and so deferred for a few years the Fall of Constantinople Through the intervention of one of his pupils in Greek, Leonardo Aretino, who was Secretary to Pope Gregory XII, Manuel Chrysoloras received from that Pope an invitation to Rome The Romans at first did not like his dress and his long hair, but he taught successfully till, probably in 1409, he was sent by the Pope with a letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople to promote the union of the Eastern and Western Churches

Chrysoloras had, in Italy, given his own assent to the forms and ceremonies of the Western Church, and, as a Romanised Greek in highest repute for learning, he was the best advocate that could be sent from the Pope at Rome to the Patriarch at Constantinople After his return to Rome, there is no further record of his life until its end He was sent with two Cardinals to the Emperor to assist in settling where a Council should be held Constance was chosen Chrysoloras went thither with Pope John XXIII, and died there on the 16th of April, 1415, before he could use his influence with the Greeks in favour of the Latin Church He was buried at Constance in the Monastery of the Dominicans Chrysoloras wrote a text-book of Greek studies—called 'Ερώτηματα (Questions)—which was much used by the first learners of Greek at the end of the fifteenth century *

* This Grammar of Chrysoloras was printed four times before the year 1440, without note of date or place of publication, also at Venice in 1484, at Vicenza in 1490, and again in 1491, at Paris in 1507, at Strasburg in 1516, and often in combination with other Greek Grammars Much valuable information about these bringers of Greek study into Europe is to be found in Humphrey Hody's book, "*De Græcis Illustribus Linguæ Græcæ literarumque humaniorum Instauratoribus*," first published by S Jebb, M D, in 1742. Hody, a Fellow of Wadham, was made Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford in 1698 His book is in two parts, the first of the Greeks before, the

George Trapezuntius, whose family was of Trebizond, was born in Crete in 1396 He was invited to teach Greek at Venice in 1428, taught also at Rome after 1431, under Eugenius IV, with a public salary In 1447 Nicolas V, when he became Pope, was less friendly Then George Trapezuntius went for a time to King Alfonso V of Aragon, in Naples He returned to Rome, went in 1465 from Rome to Crete, and thence to Constantinople He died at Rome in 1485 in his ninetieth year, long vexed by rivals, and with his reason so far gone that he is said to have forgotten his own name

Cardinal Bessarion, said to have been a Greek of Trebizond, was a monk of the Order of St Basil He was Archbishop of Nicæa, and he was made Cardinal after the Council of Florence He used his wealth for the encouragement of learning, and especially of learned Greeks

Theodore Gaza, of Thessalonica, went to Italy in 1430 after the destruction of his native town by the Turks After studying at Mantua, under Victorine of Feltro, he became a foremost Latin scholar, and he taught both Latin and Greek at Siena He was at the Council of Florence in 1439, and seems to have been very poor before he settled at Ferrara There he became first Rector of the Academy, interpreted orations of Demosthenes, and taught for many years with so much honour that, after his death, learned men would lift their hats as they passed the house he had lived in About the year 1450 Theodore Gaza was called from Ferrara to Rome, where Cardinal Bessarion was his chief patron He was employed, for small reward, in the translation of Greek authors into Latin He is said to have thrown a petty gift of the Pope's into the Tiber, saying that no scholar should come to Rome, where taste was dead

second of those after, the Fall of Constantinople See also Christ Frid Boerner, "*De Doctis Hominibus Græcis*," Leipzig, 1750, and Tiraboschi, vol vi, part 2

The fattest asses, he said, turned their heads from the best grain In 1456 he went to the Court of Alfonso in Naples, and after the death of Alfonso, in 1458, he returned to Bessarion in Rome But his patron gave him only a very small benefice in Calabria, where he lived in poverty—translated, among other books, Aristotle on Animals, and Theophrastus on Plants, the book that laid the first foundations of a Science of Botany Theodore Gaza translated also the *Somnium Scipionis* and Cicero *de Senectute* out of Latin into Greek He died in 1478

Joannes Andronicus Callistus, also of Thessalonica, taught Greek also at Rome, and was at Florence before Chalcondylas Then he went to Ferrara, and was one of the teachers of Politian Callistus finally left Italy for France, where he died old

Next came two men, Argyropylos and Chalcondylas, who have a large place in the history of the introduction of Greek Literature into Europe, an event that had strong influence upon the after-course of Literature in England

Johannes Argyropylos was not quite forty years old at the time of the Fall of Constantinople, his birth-place At Padua, when a young man, he had taught ancient literature, and especially the philosophy of Aristotle In 1456 Cosmo de' Medici settled him at Florence as teacher of the Peripatetic philosophy, and made him tutor to Piero and Lorenzo In 1471, when the plague was in Florence, Argyropylos went to Rome, and there he continued to teach until his death He died in 1486, aged about seventy Politian and Reuchlin were taught in his school He himself translated many works of Aristotle, and wrote commentaries on his Ethics and Politics He wrote a Latin book also, on the Council of Florence, and another on the Going Forth of the Holy Spirit

Demetrius Chalcondylas was the brother of another scholar of that name, Laonicos or Nicolas Chalcondylas, a

Greek historian who wrote ten books of a History of the Turks from 1300 to 1463 * Demetrius was born in 1428 He was twenty-five years old, therefore, at the time of the Fall of Constantinople He was of a leading family in Athens, and went first from Constantinople to Perugia Then he taught in Rome and other towns of Italy, and, about 1479, he was invited by Lorenzo de' Medici to teach Greek in Florence After the death of Lorenzo in 1492, Chalcondylas went to Milan, where he continued teaching He died at Rome in 1513 He wrote a Greek Grammar, which he sought to make more thorough than that of Chrysoloras, and simpler than that of his teacher, Theodore Gaza It was first printed at Milan without date, before the end of the fifteenth century †

Constantine Lascaris, of an imperial family in Byzantium, began to be known in Italy after the Fall of Constantinople He taught at Milan till 1463 or later, then at Messina in Sicily He left a Greek Grammar in three books, first published at Milan in 1476, and a son, Johannes or Janus Lascaris, born not far from Mount Olympus Janus Lascaris taught first at Florence under Lorenzo de Medici, whose library he helped to form, and by whom he was twice sent to Byzantium for Greek books In 1484 Janus Lascaris dedicated to Piero de' Medici a volume of Greek epigrams He went to France in 1518, and had charge there of the Royal Library of Francis I He went back to Italy in 1523, and was sent by Clement VII from Rome upon an Embassy to Charles V In 1525 he had returned to Francis I In 1534 he was in Rome again,

* The relationship is shown by the Greek sketch of them in a manuscript at Munich, written in the sixteenth century by Antony Calosynos, and printed by Carl Hoff in "*Chroniques Gréco-romaines inédites ou peu connues*" Berlin, 1873

† Perhaps in 1493 There was an edition printed at Paris by Gourmont in 1525, another at Basel in 1546

where he died of gout next year, leaving a son, Angelo, his heir, who lived in Paris

Among the disciples of Janus Lascaris was a Cretan, Marcus Musurus, who came young into Italy He settled at Padua, where there were only four days in a year on which he did not teach publicly From Padua he went to Venice, and taught there also with great profit to himself and others In 1516 he was called to Rome by Leo X, and made an Archbishop in the Morea, but died next year

It was of a Spartan in Paris, who supported himself also by skill with his pen as a copyist, that John Reuchlin, before he sought more at Florence from Argyropylos, its first famous teacher there, had learnt Greek enough to surprise the patriot with speech in his own tongue from a German, and caused him to say, "Alas! Greece is already banished beyond the Alps"

Among the Greeks who came to Florence was, as we have seen, the venerable George Gemisthus Pletho, whose long life had been spent in enthusiastic study of Plato, and who lectured upon him to the Italians, maintaining his philosophy as partisan of Plato against Aristotle Cosmo de' Medici, his constant hearer, received his opinions While he was steadily pursuing his design to become sovereign in Florence, the head of the great banking-house, which spread its branches over Europe, set a fashion for the collecting of Greek manuscripts, proceeded towards the establishment of a Platonic academy in Florence, and educated young Marsiglio Ficino especially in Platonism, that he might become its head

Influence of Platonism on Church Reform

John Argyropylos worked at Aristotle, but the new teachers were generally Platonists, reading their Plato with the glosses of the mystical school of Neoplatonists, whose philosophy had been in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries at war with Christianity, but in this fifteenth century be-

came indirectly an aid in the reformation of the Christian Church. To the corrupt society of Italy, Platonism gave some grace of heathendom and many affectations. To men of the Teutonic or English race, and others who went to Florence to learn Greek, the new study gave something more. Earnest minds were battling with the strong animal nature of the Church. They passed, through the new study, to works of a heathen philosopher who saw in the world a divine soul towards which by heavenward aspiration souls of men could rise. "But if the company will be persuaded by me," wrote Plato, in the tenth book of the "Republic," "considering the soul to be immortal and able to bear all evil and good, we shall always persevere in the road which leads upwards, and shall by all means follow justice with prudence; that so we may be friends to ourselves and to the gods, both while we remain here, and when we afterwards receive its rewards, like victors assembled together; and so both here and in that journey of a thousand years we shall be happy." The Neoplatonists had grafted extreme doctrines of purification and subjection of man's animal nature upon the teaching in Plato's "Phædo" that a soul given to fleshly pleasures takes taint of the flesh. Upon many of the best minds of Europe the new study of Greek, through such reading of Plato, came as a new impulse to conflict with the sensuality which had become the scandal of the Church of Rome. Plato was thus associated among such men with the cause of progress; while Aristotle, of whose teaching the knowledge had been long since diffused by learned Jews and by the Arabians through translation, supplied forms for conventional thought, and, eager pioneer as he had been, was made the idol of the men who stood upon the ancient ways. The Fall of Constantinople made Plato a power in Europe. So it was that those of the clergy who shrank from the quickened tendency among good scholars to attack their flesh-pots,

gave new currency to the proverb, "Beware of the Greeks, lest you be made a heretic"

When Cosmo de' Medici died, at the age of seventy-five, his son Piero, who succeeded to his position in Florence, had an elder son, Lorenzo, who was in that year, 1464, sixteen years old He had been born on the 1st of January, 1448 In June, 1469, Lorenzo de' Medici, aged twenty-one, married Clarice of the Roman family of the Orsini On the 3rd of the following December, his father, Piero, died of the gout which had long troubled him, and the young Lorenzo became head of the Florentine Republic So he remained for not quite twenty-three years His death was on the 8th of April, 1492, very nearly sixty years after the establishment of his grandfather's power in Florence Within the years of Lorenzo's rule, William Grocyn and Thomas Linacre, the two members of the University of Oxford who then became the founders of Greek study in England, went to Florence There they had Chalcondylas for teacher Grocyn was the elder man, and he taught Greek before he went to Italy, but Linacre was first to go to Florence

Lorenzo de' Medici

William Grocyn was born not earlier than the year 1446 He must have been well trained at another school, perhaps in Bristol, for he was not admitted as a scholar at Winchester until the 26th of September, 1463, and entered New College in 1465, at which time his home was in Bristol He became a Fellow of New College in 1467 The Statutes of New College required that a Winchester scholar should be a Probationer Fellow for two years before he became full Fellow, and that he should be under twenty when he was admitted a Probationer Grocyn must, therefore, have obtained his Fellowship when his age was under twenty-two William Grocyn was entered on the books of Winchester as the son of a tenant at Colerne Colerne is a Wiltshire village, six

William Grocyn

or seven miles from Chippenham, of which the living is in the gift of Winchester College, and in which the College possessed land Grocyn, as native of Colerne, may have benefited by William of Wykeham's Statutes, which gave preference to boys who were born in parishes belonging to either of the allied Colleges founded by him at Winchester and Oxford in the days when Chaucer's power was at its ripest * From Grocyn onward many a man trained at Winchester will have a place of honour in the record of our English writers

While at New College, Grocyn was tutor to William Warham, who had followed him from Winchester to New College, lived to rise high in royal favour, became afterwards Master of the Rolls, and was for the last twenty-eight years of his life Archbishop of Canterbury Grocyn was not the only scholar who found Warham in his prosperity a helpful friend In 1481 Grocyn resigned his Fellowship on presentation to a Buckinghamshire living, in gift of the College, at Newton Longville, some three miles from Fenny Stratford Soon afterwards he joined to the duties of his living those of Reader in Divinity at Magdalen College, Oxford, and in that character, in 1483, Grocyn received a buck and a gift of money from Richard III for taking part, with three others, in a disputation In 1485 Grocyn obtained a prebend in Lincoln Cathedral For the first ten years of Grocyn's life as member of the University of Oxford, from 1465 to 1475, Dr Thomas Chandler was Warden of New College He had been a Fellow of New College from 1435 to 1450, and, obtaining his degree of D D in 1455, was Warden from 1455–6 until 1475 Thomas Chandler was Chancellor of the University from 1457 to 1461,

* The building of New College began in March, 1380, and was finished in April, 1386 The building of St Mary College of Winchester was begun in 1387, and finished in 1393 William of Wykeham, their founder, died September 27th, 1404

Vice-Chancellor in 1463, 1464, and 1465, again in 1467, and Chancellor again from 1472 to 1479 His *Collocutiones*, written in 1462, quote an anonymous short Chronicle which is one of the sources of our knowledge of the life of William of Wykeham When Chandler was Warden, that is to say before 1475, he appointed an Italian exile of noble family, Cornelio Vitelli, born within the Pope's dominions at Corneto, on a height by the Mediterranean, to be Prælector there Chandler went to his first lecture, and honoured him with a set speech after the close of it Vitelli introduced into Oxford the New Learning from Italy, and taught both Greek and Latin His success was not conspicuous, but Grocyn studied under him, and when he was sufficiently advanced, Grocyn himself taught Greek at Oxford before he went to Florence to increase his knowledge Other men went before Grocyn from Oxford to Italy for improvement in their Latin studies, and for learning Greek One of them, Robert Fleming, had for kinsman and patron Richard Fleming, founder of Lincoln College Robert Fleming became Dean of Lincoln, and after studying Latin and Greek in Italy under Battista Guarini at Ferrara, made for himself a Greek-Latin Dictionary, which Leland saw Another was William Gray, who also learnt of Guarini, and was during the last twenty-four years of his life Bishop of Ely Gray brought MSS from Italy, which he gave to his own College, Balliol Others were John Gunthorpe (Gundorpius) who became Dean of Wells, and built the Deanery, John "Phreas," who became a rich physician, and John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester * Young Thomas Linacre also, who may have begun his Greek studies at Oxford under Vitelli, went out to Italy in 1485, three years earlier than Grocyn He went in the year when Grocyn obtained his

* Leland, "*Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*" Ed Antony Hall, Oxford, 1709

prebend at Lincoln, and nearly at the same time the Rectory of Depden in Suffolk, which he resigned in 1493

Thomas Linacre

Of Linacre, as of Grocyn, the birth-year is not exactly known, but Linacre was, by about fourteen years, the younger man Thomas Linacre was of an old family settled before the Norman Conquest at Linacre Hall, by Chesterfield in Derbyshire, and enriched in course of time by acquisition of land in other parts of England He was born in Canterbury about the year 1460, and had his first education there in the public school of the ancient Benedictine Monastery of Christchurch The present King's School at Canterbury was founded by Henry VIII on the dissolution of the Monastery of Christchurch The School, in Linacre's time, was under a monk named William Tilley, who was called also Selling, from the Kentish village, three or four miles from Faversham, in which he was born, and of which the land belonged to St Augustine's at Canterbury Tilley's influence upon young Linacre was very great He had been at Oxford Fellow of All Souls before he taught at Canterbury His deep interest in the New Learning had caused him to obtain leave of the Chapter of his Order to visit Italy and study there He was provided with sufficient means, and settled at Bologna, where he studied canon and civil law, disputed with distinction in the schools, and was taught Greek by Agnolo Poliziano, with whom he became close friend Tilley collected MSS which he brought home to his Monastery They were burnt after his death by a fire there, caused by revelry of a law student and his friends admitted for the night One of the burnt books was a complete copy of Cicero's lost work on the Republic Tilley had acquired highest repute as a scholar, and had been elected in 1472 to be Prior of the Monastery, when his zeal for the New Learning was communicated to young Linacre At Canterbury, Linacre seems

William Tilley

to have studied under William Tilley until his age was about twenty Greek had not been taught at all, and the teaching of Latin had sunk very low, when Tilley was one of the first who brought new life and light into the school Linacre, with life and light in his own scholarship, went to Oxford in 1480, probably to Canterbury Hall, which was connected with the school at Christchurch In 1484 he obtained, as Tilley before him had obtained, a Fellowship at All Souls All Souls had been founded in 1437 by Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, for a Warden and forty Fellows, and had been fully incorporated in 1439 There was provision in the Fellowships on behalf of founder's kin, which has been thought to favour a belief that there was some family relationship between William Tilley, of Selling, and Thomas Linacre Linacre, having brought with him to Oxford some knowledge of Greek, continued his study by attendance at the lectures of Cornelio Vitelli, where he first became fellow-worker with William Grocyn Another friend to whom Linacre was closely drawn by fellowship of studies was William Latimer, a Divinity student, who seems to have been of his own age, or a little younger He did not obtain a Fellowship at All Souls until five years later

Thomas Linacre

Not long after Linacre had obtained his All Souls Fellowship, his friend and teacher, William Tilley, Prior of Christchurch, was sent by Henry VII to Rome That would be at the close of 1485, or in the next following year The Battle of Bosworth Field, in which Richard III fell, was fought on the 22nd of August, 1485 When Tilley, upon his mission, went for the second time to Italy, he invited Linacre to go with him Glad of such aid to the more thorough study of Greek, Linacre went with his old master, who, having introduced him to Politian, left him at Bologna, where Linacre stayed awhile, and then he joined Politian again at Florence There he became fellow-student with the

two sons of Lorenzo de' Medici, to one of whom, after he had become Pope Leo X, Linacre dedicated, in 1521, a translation of Galen's book on Temperaments, with a courteous recollection of their former knowledge of each other Linacre stayed a year at Florence, and then went to Rome At Rome he established in the Library of the Vatican strong friendship with the scholar, Hermolaus Barbaro The friendship was begun in talk together about Plato's "Phædo," which Hermolaus found Linacre reading Hermolaus, grandson on the mother's side to the Doge Andrea, was the son of a noble Venetian, Francesco Barbaro, who had defended Brescia in 1439 against all the forces of the Duke of Milan, and who was also a writer

Hermolaus Barbaro, born in 1454, about six years older than Linacre, and his most intimate friend among Italians, was one of the great classical scholars of the fifteenth century He was employed, at the age of thirty-two, by the Venetians as their Envoy to the Emperor He was sent also by the Venetian States to Pope Innocent VIII, who liked him so well that he made him Patriarch of Aquileia Barbaro accepted that office without asking leave of the Venetians, and thereby brought himself into trouble with the Republic, because none of its ministers were allowed to accept preferments at a foreign Court As Barbaro held by the Patriarchate, he was living at Rome as an exile from Venice when Linacre met with him Linacre knew him only as a famous scholar retired among his books, and freely welcoming congenial friends He dined—we should say lunched—at three upon an egg, some fruit, and white bread, with diluted wine He supped—we should say dined—on eggs, salad, and a roasted bird, with some fruit for dessert, early enough for summer evening studies in the garden, or another hour or two among his books Among other works of his was a translation of Dioscorides, another was a translation of the whole Organon of Aristotle

In two parts, published in 1492 and 1493, he issued his chief work, an edition of Pliny, which is said to have contained five thousand emendations of the corrupted text From Rome and the companionship of Hermolaus Barbaro, Linacre went to Venice, where he established friendship with the learned printer, Aldo Manuzio, and was introduced by him to other scholars From Venice, Linacre went to Padua, where he seems to have taken a degree in medicine, and by way of Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Milan, and the Pays de Cévennes, he returned through Paris to England

Linacre used his Greek chiefly for study of the Natural History of Aristotle and the works of Galen In his time first rudiments of a science of medicine were being drawn from the works of Aristotle, and a prevailing faith in charms and amulets of precious stones found encouragement in the mysticism of the Neo-Platonists Hippocrates, who had lived in the days of Socrates, studied by direct observation the natural history of disease, and saw a Divine operation, Nature, working through all physical change Claudius Galen, of Pergamos, in the latter part of the second century after Christ, became the great physician of the past, to whose authority physicians and surgeons bowed for the next thirteen centuries Galen restored the authority of Hippocrates by collecting his works and enforcing his doctrines He travelled, observed, reflected He wrote many treatises, was the first man, in his "Use of Parts," to show real knowledge of the structure of the skeleton and of the rest of human anatomy, and by his description of the heart and bloodvessels showed that he was on the right way towards that discovery of the circulation of the blood which came long after the time even of Linacre Galen established himself, at the age of thirty-four, as a Greek physician in Rome, where Dioscorides, in the time of Nero, had written a book on Simples, that Galen took as an authority. Galen had been preceded also by the Roman

The Old Science of Medicine

Celsus, who, in the reign of Augustus or Tiberius, had written treatises on the liberal arts, of which only that upon Medicine, which is to this day the Latin classic of the medical profession, has been preserved Of the three hundred books that Galen himself is said to have written, the greater number were destroyed by a fire in the Temple of Peace The influence of Hippocrates and Galen—especially of Galen—was great on the Arabs in their day of intellectual supremacy To the medical authorities of Linacre's time let us add Rhazes, who practised at Bagdad in the tenth century, and wrote on small-pox and measles, add also the Persian, Haly-Abbas, who dedicated a compendium of Medicine, his "Almaleki," or Opus Regium, to the Emir of Bagdad about the year 980, Avicenna, who died in 1037, and Averroes, who, in the twelfth century, gave Aristotle to the Arabs Avicenna left a "Canon of Medicine," which was the great authority of the schools until the time of Linacre, when the New Learning brought Hippocrates, Dioscorides, Celsus, and Galen again to the front, with Aristotle, whose science Galen had sought to harmonise in his own system with Plato's philosophical idealism These were the great founders of the Science of Medicine as it was practised early in the fourteenth century by John of Gaddesden,* whose Latin "Rosa Anglica," or "Practice of Medicine from Head to Foot," was first printed in 1492 at Pavia, and again at Venice in 1506, and at Naples in 1508, and at Venice again in 1516 From the tenth century until the time of Linacre—we might almost say from the second century—Medical Science had made no considerable advance Nor did it then advance, for Linacre's chief service was in carrying students back from the tenth century to the first and second, and yet farther back, from Avicenna to Dioscorides and Galen, and behind them to Hippocrates and Aristotle

* "E W" iv 65, 66

The degree of Doctor of Medicine having been obtained in an Italian University, Linacre, after his return, was admitted to the same at Oxford With deep sense of the value of a knowledge of Greek as key to the higher science and philosophy, Linacre again joined his friend Grocyn in teaching Greek at Oxford

Thomas Linacre

But the elder scholar was now stirred with a desire to follow Linacre's example Not Grocyn alone, but also younger men—William Latimer, who taught Greek afterwards at Cambridge, William Lilly, afterwards the first Head Master of St Paul's School, and John Colet, the founder of that school, went in turn for a pure draught of the New Learning to the fountain head

Greek Studies at Oxford

William Grocyn, in 1488, resigned his office of Divinity Reader at Magdalen College, and went straight to Florence —William Latimer following in 1489—where he studied under Demetrius Chalcondylas and under Politian, whose "Miscellanea" were published in 1489 Grocyn remained two years in Italy, and he also, in Venice, became the friend of the great printer, Aldus Manutius, the founder of the Aldine Press, whose grandson, the younger Aldus, was reduced by poverty to sell the library of 80,000 volumes collected by his family The elder Aldus was the first who printed Greek with accuracy, and without a very large number of contractions

William Grocyn

In 1491 Grocyn was at Oxford again, and rented rooms at Exeter College He then again taught Greek, as one having authority, though by no formal appointment of the University or any of the Colleges Greek was not then recognised officially as part of the course for graduation Cornelio Vitelli had, in 1489, been called to Paris, but Grocyn and Linacre enlarged the credit of the University, and were joined presently by William Latimer Grocyn,

Linacre, and Latimer then undertook joint labour upon a translation into Latin of all works of Aristotle, but that design was abandoned after Grocyn's death

A letter from Grocyn was inserted by Aldo Manuzio in his edition of the translation made by Linacre—and left with him when Linacre was at Venice—of the "Sphere of Proclus,"* first published in 1499, and dedicated to Arthur Prince of Wales Grocyn, in this letter, congratulates Aldus upon the completion of his edition of the whole extant Greek text of Aristotle—Grocyn valued Aristotle above Plato—and he said, "Our Linacre tells me that you are contemplating a still more remarkable work, and have already set it on foot—the printing of the Old Testament in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and of the New in Greek and Latin—a most arduous work, and one most worthy of a Christian man As to our part of the work," he added, "we will omit nothing which is at all likely to be useful in the matter" This letter was dated from London in September, and must have been written in 1499 The application of the New Learning to the procuring of a more accurate text of the Bible, though conceived by Aldus, was not carried out by him, but we shall find it carried out early in the next century, with yet larger aim at thoroughness, by Cardinal Ximenes

Grocyn dated that letter from London, whither he was more and more drawn by duties of the Rectory of St Lawrence Jewry, to which he had been presented in 1496 He was Rector also of Sheperton in Middlesex Linacre visited Italy again in 1498 or 1499, and when he returned both he and Grocyn worked rather in London than in

* "*Procli Diadochi Sphæra, Astronomiam discere incipientibus utilissima Thoma Linacre Britanno Interprete Ad Arcturum, Cornubiæ Valliaque Illustrissimum Principem*" It is only a piece eight pages long, last treatise in a volume of ancient writers on Astronomy, dedicated by Aldo Manuzio to Guido Duke of Urbino

Oxford, where William Latimer remained and still taught Greek In 1506 Archbishop Warham added to Grocyn's offices in the Church that of Master of the College of All Saints at Maidstone That College was founded originally for poor travellers by Archbishop Boniface about the year 1260, incorporated by Archbishop Courtenay with a College of Secular Priests, a Master and six Chaplains, and suppressed in 1546 In 1511 Archbishop Warham further recognised Grocyn's services to learning by giving him the Rectory of East Peckham on condition of his placing a vicar there for the cure of the souls of his parishioners Grocyn spent the last years of his life in London or at Maidstone, not rich, for he was a free giver Erasmus sent, in one of his letters to a London friend, his "heartiest salutations to Dr Grocyn, the friend and patron of us all" He had not proceeded at Oxford beyond B D in his graduation In the last year of his life Grocyn was struck with palsy He made his will on the 2nd of June, 1519 Without wife or kinsfolk, he left his books to Linacre, his nearest friend and his executor, his house to his old servant Thomas Taylour, his scarlet gown, with the hood lined with sarcenet, to Linacre's niece Alicia, and he died at Maidstone two or three months later, at the age of about seventy-three *

Although letters of Grocyn to his learned friends were for a time known, they were never printed He was recognised as their chief leader among scholars of the Revival in his day, but, like William Latimer, he lives now only through the work of other men to whom he was in life an inspiration

* In the second series of *Collectanea* (1890), printed for the "Oxford Historical Society," and edited by Professor Montagu Burrows, Prof Burrows has a valuable Memoir of William Grocyn which corrects some errors in previous accounts, and to which I have often been indebted It is given together with Linacre's Catalogue of Grocyn's books, made in 1520, and his accounts as executor, which were discovered among the archives of Merton College in 1889

and support William Latimer, who had Reginald Pole among his pupils, and that Dr Pace whom Wolsey envied, lived to the year 1545 He had a prebend in Salisbury Cathedral, and besides the Vicarage of Wootton-under-Edge, the Rectory of Saintsbury, both in Gloucestershire

Erasmus

In the year 1497 Erasmus, then thirty years old, came to England, and in 1498 he was at work upon Greek with Grocyn and Linacre at Oxford Erasmus, born at Rotterdam, probably in 1467, was the illegitimate son of a Gerhard, whose name, meaning "the beloved," he translated into Latin and Greek when he took the name of Desiderius Erasmus He went to school at Gouda, then became a chorister-boy at Utrecht, then was taught by those Brothers of the Common Life at Deventer, in whose school, founded by Gerhard Groot and developed by his pupil, Florentius Radewin, Thomas à Kempis had been trained Thomas à Kempis died, at the age of ninety, sub-prior of a kindred community, under Radewin's brother John, in 1471 Thomas à Kempis said that he found in the houses of this Brotherhood all the brethren of one heart and one mind, self-denying, devout, and full of mercy Erasmus said that he found their teaching of Latin puerile, but his calm philosophical temperament may have gained something in youth from the religious life of a community in which feverish exaltations were discouraged, and the three questions first put to those who wished to join were, "Do you eat well?" "Do you sleep well?" "Do you obey readily?" The head of the school to which Erasmus went was Alexander Hegius, who was able to teach a little Greek

When his mother, who was a physician's daughter, died of the plague, Erasmus left Deventer and went to his father at Gouda Then his father died

Erasmus and his brother were left in the care of three trustees, who wished to make monks of them. Erasmus

agreed to go into an Augustinian house at Delft on condition that he might have freedom to come out of it again. He remained in it for six years, and came out to be private secretary to the Bishop of Cambrai, with whom he went to Paris, after ordination as a priest. In Paris, Erasmus studied at the Collége Montaigu, which was untouched by the light of the New Learning. He earned also by private teaching. He had infinite desire for knowledge, but his means were very small. One of his pupils was William Lord Mountjoy. Erasmus visited him at Hames Castle in Guines, which then belonged to the English, and had Lord Mountjoy for Governor. The desire of Erasmus was to the new light that shone from Italy. He was too poor to go to Italy and learn Greek from the famous scholars there. But Mountjoy told him that Greek was to be learnt also at Oxford, and brought him to England at the end of the year 1497. After a short stay in London, he went to Oxford, where he lodged in a small religious house of St. Mary's on the site of the house and garden since appropriated to the Regius Professor of Medicine. It had Richard Charnock for its Prior. So Erasmus studied Greek under Grocyn and Linacre, and laid foundations of strong friendship with the younger men of this school, John Colet and Thomas More. He liked England, and found in the Oxford scholars all that he desired. To a friend he wrote at that time, "In Colet I hear Plato himself. Who does not admire the perfect compass of science in Grocyn? Is anything more acute, more exalted or more refined than the judgment of Linacre? Has Nature framed anything either milder, sweeter, or happier than the disposition of More?" Thomas More introduced Erasmus to the Prince who was hereafter to be King Henry VIII., then a boy of nine. In the year 1500 the Dutch scholar had returned to France, not only a better Grecian, but also rich in new friendship that had put new strength into his life.

Colet and Erasmus were within a year of the same age John Colet, born in 1466, was the son of Sir Henry Colet, a wealthy City knight, who was twice Lord Mayor of London Dame Christian, his mother, had eleven sons and eleven daughters, of whom John was the sole survivor She lived with him during the last nine years of his life, after her husband's death in 1510, and, says Erasmus, "being come to her ninetieth year, looked so smooth, and was so cheerful, that you would think she had never shed a tear, and, if I mistake not, she survived her son, Dean Colet Now that which supplied a woman with so much fortitude was not learning, but piety to God" From earlier training in London or Westminster, Colet passed to Magdalen College, Oxford, about 1483 Having taken his degree as Master of Arts, after seven years' study, Colet chose the Church for his profession, and before he was ordained, he obtained through family influence, in 1485, the Rectory of St Mary Dennington in Suffolk, in 1490 the Vicarage of St Dunstan and All Saints' in Stepney, and the Rectory of St Nicholas Thurning in Huntingdonshire In 1494 he was presented to the Prebend of Botevant in the Church of York, and he had one or two more pieces of preferment before his ordination as a priest, which was not until March, 1498 Before Colet left for Italy, in 1493, he studied Plato and Plotinus, using one as commentary on the other But when abroad in France and Italy, while he was eagerly, pursuing his Greek studies, he fastened upon St Paul as the great Christian philosopher, the trustworthy interpreter of Christian doctrine, and was thenceforth among living men the chief of Paul's disciples Colet read the Fathers of the Church, preferring Origen and Jerome to Augustine, and he devoted himself to the study of the Scriptures Lorenzo de' Medici had died the year before Colet left England Corruption had spread, and the ignoble side of life in Italy, that had been less distinct

John Colet

to Linacre and Grocyn, pressed its repulsive features upon Colet. In the younger man also there was a more ardent spiritual zeal. Greek scholarship in Colet joined St Paul to Plato, and became an agent for the reformation of the Church and of the world.

John Colet came back from Italy to Oxford, and in 1497 gave free lectures in Latin on St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, with a large scholarly spirit of interpretation that caused men of all degrees to flock to him, note-book in hand. He was lecturing upon St Paul to the Corinthians when Erasmus came to Oxford as a scholar very poor in worldly means. Colet, having observed him, wrote to him a warm offer of friendly help, and they were friends for life. Of Colet's way of teaching Erasmus said in a letter to him, "You say what you mean, and mean what you say. Your words have birth in your heart, not on your lips. They follow your thoughts, instead of your thoughts being shaped by them. You have the happy art of expressing with ease what others can hardly express with the greatest labour."*

Thomas More

Thomas More had been sent to Oxford, perhaps at the age of fourteen, before the visit of Erasmus, and was twenty two years old at the end of the fifteenth century. He was the son of Sir John More, Knight, a justice of the King's Bench, who was three times married, though he used to say that marriage was like dipping the hand into a bag where there are twenty snakes and an eel—it was twenty to one that you did not get the eel. Thomas More's birthplace and early home being Milk Street, in the City of London, he was sent to St Anthony's, in Threadneedle Street, then chief in repute

* Quoted by Mr. Frederic Seebohm in "The Oxford Reformers of 1498, being a History of the Fellow-Work of John Colet, Erasmus, and Thomas More," 1867, second edition, revised and enlarged, 1869, a book which should be read by every student of this period of Literature.

among the London schools More next entered the household of Cardinal John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor

Morton had been one of the foremost of Oxford scholars when William Grocyn was a child He was Doctor of Laws and Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1446 He practised law, and obtained many Church benefices, was Master of the Rolls in 1472, Bishop of Ely in 1479—the same Bishop of Ely of whom the Protector Richard, about to seize the crown, said

> "My lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn,
> I saw good strawberries in your garden there,
> I do beseech you send for some of them"—

an hour before he sent him to the Tower When afterwards released, and transferred to the custody of the Duke of Buckingham, Morton helped to organise the insurrection which cost Buckingham his head, and, being himself safe in Flanders, was thenceforth busy as a negotiator on the side that triumphed at Bosworth Field Thus Morton became the trusted friend of Henry VII, who, at the beginning of his reign, made him, in 1486, Archbishop of Canterbury, and nine months afterwards Lord Chancellor of England

In 1489 Morton obtained a bull from Pope Innocent VIII authorising him, as visitor, to exercise authority within the monasteries, in which, the bull said, there were many who, giving themselves over to a reprobate mind, and having laid aside the fear of God, were leading a wanton and dissolute life, to the destruction of their own souls and the dishonour of religion While upholding the sovereignty of the Archbishop in spiritual things, Morton, as Henry VII's chief adviser, maintained in temporal affairs the absolute sovereignty of the King He greatly enriched himself, but was liberal with his wealth He helped

the King, more narrowly avaricious, to draw money, by benevolences or otherwise, from his subjects, and he shared the king's unpopularity Morton was a vigorous old man of between seventy and eighty, whose life was blended with the history of half a century, when young Thomas More was placed in his household, and found him a generous patron and appreciative friend A son of one of lower rank was often received of old into a great man's house He wore there his lord's livery, but had it of more costly materials than were used for the footmen, and was the immediate atendant of his patron, who was expected to give him a start in life when he came of age When at Christmas time a Latin play was acted, young Thomas More could step in at will among the players, and extemporise a comic part "Whoever liveth to try it," Morton would say, "shall see this child here waiting at table prove a notable and rare man" John Colet used to say, "There is but one wit in England, and that is young Thomas More" About the year 1492 the Archbishop sent the youth to Oxford, where he was entered to Canterbury College, now included in Christ Church There he learned Greek of Linacre and Grocyn In 1496 he had removed thence to London, and proceeded to study law at Lincoln's Inn In 1500 Archbishop Morton died

While studying law, More, who was earnestly religious, tried on himself for a time the experiment of monastic discipline, wore a hair shirt, took a log for a pillow, and whipped himself on Fridays

Leaving here for a time those younger men whose lives, touched in their youth by the influence of Grocyn and Linacre, belong chiefly to the sixteenth century, we may now complete the record of the life of Linacre, which had been active for good in the fifteenth century, and remained beneficent until his death in 1524.

In the year 1501, while Linacre was at Oxford, Arthur

Prince of Wales, to whom Linacre had dedicated his translation of the "Sphere of Proclus," was, during a progress, lodged for a time at Magdalen College The result of this was an invitation to Linacre to take charge of the delicate young Prince's health, and live at Court as his companion in hours not set apart for study Bernard André was the Prince's tutor, and had been so since 1496, when Prince Arthur was ten years of age On the 19th of May, André was also witness to Prince Arthur's marriage by proxy to Catherine of Aragon, at Bewdley, in Worcestershire The actual marriage at St Paul's was on November 6th, 1501 André was a native of Toulouse, an Austin Friar, and blind from his first coming into England with Henry VII, who called him his Poet Laureate, obtained for him Church preferments, and made him gifts of money From 1506 at least until 1521, when his age was seventy, Bernard André received from Henry VII and Henry VIII the annual New Year's gift of a hundred shillings We shall meet with him again among the writers in Henry VII's reign Erasmus had no love for Bernard André, who, in 1509, charged him more than he was able to pay, for lodging at London with the Austin Friars, when he came to England in that year Lord Mountjoy had to pay André twenty nobles for his friend To Erasmus, therefore, André, who traduced Linacre to the King, was "principis optimi non optimus præceptor"

Thomas Linacre

Bernard Andre

Prince Arthur died in April, 1502, in his sixteenth year, and Prince Henry then became heir to the crown Henry VII died in April, 1509, and Prince Henry became, at the age of eighteen, King Henry VIII Linacre, who gave a medical lecture at Oxford in 1510, was appointed one of the Physicians to the new King But, at the same time, Linacre was joining Physic to Divinity, for he took priest's orders in

Thomas Linacre

1509—being dispensed from gradation through the offices of sub-deacon and deacon—and received preferments from his friend, William Warham, who, in 1504, had become Archbishop of Canterbury First Linacre was appointed to the Rectory of Mersham, in Kent, which he held only for a month In the following December, 1509, he was installed into the prebend of Easton in Gardano in Wells Cathedral In 1510 he was presented also to the living of Hawkhurst, in Kent, which he held for fourteen years In 1517 Linacre obtained a canonry and prebend in St Stephen's, Westminster, vacant by the death of the Papal Collector in England In 1518 he obtained a prebend in York Minster, which he resigned six months later, after being admitted to his better-paid appointment of Precentor in the same cathedral church He received also in that year from the King the Rectory of Holworthy, in Devonshire In 1520 Linacre was made Rector of Wigan, in Lancashire

Linacre lived in London in a house in Knightrider Street, known as the Stone House He was occupied at the end of the fifteenth century with translations of the "Meteora" of Aristotle and the "Commentaries" of Simplicius, but, afterwards, he was drawn to active work upon a translation of Galen from Greek into Latin He published, with dedication to Henry VIII, in 1517, at Paris, having Guillaume Rubé for printer, a translation of Galen's six books on the "Preservation of Health" In 1519, also at Paris, with Desiderius Maheu for printer, he published the fourteen books of Galen's "Method of Healing," a work that brought Linacre praise in Latin verse from Janus Lascaris Galen's three books on Temperaments, dedicated to Archbishop Warham, printed at Cambridge by John Siberch, and with a title page that is said to be the first piece of English copperplate engraving, followed in 1521, with dedication to Pope Leo X A copy that belonged to Henry VIII is in the Bodleian Library, but the title-page

is there printed from type In 1522 there followed three translations by Linacre of works of Galen, from the press of Richard Pynson, these were his two books on "The Movement of the Muscles," his book on the "Use of the Pulses," dedicated to Cardinal Wolsey, and his book on "Whom and When to Purge Medicinally" In 1523 followed Linacre's translation of Galen's three books on "Natural Functions," dedicated to Archbishop Warham, with an annexed treatise of Paulus Ægineta on "Crises and Critical Days in Disease, with their Signs" In 1524, the last year of his life, Linacre published his translation of Galen on the "Differences and Causes of Symptoms," the publisher of all these later translations being Richard Pynson Taking Galen's works in what he regarded as the order of their greatest practical importance, Linacre was busy during the last years of his life in the endeavour to produce translations of them all In 1524 appeared—also from Pynson's press—the first edition of Linacre's work, in six books, "*De Emendata Structura Latini Sermonis*," which is said to include the first specimens of Greek type from a London press But there was a little Latin treatise on the "Rudiments of Grammar" written by Linacre at the close of his life for the use of the Princess Mary, to whom he was then appointed tutor in Latin She was but five years old, and her more immediate teacher was a retainer of Queen Katharine's, Juan Luis Vives, of Valentia, who had been made, in 1517, one of the first Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, by its founder, Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester Vives wrote for his pupil, or to please her mother, in 1523, two letters in aid of grammatical studies, entitled "*De Ratione Studii Puerilis*," in the dedication of which to the Queen he spoke of Linacre's high qualifications as a teacher, and said that his own purpose was only to clear away obscurities or supply omissions of the grammarians

The larger treatise in aid of the study of Latin had been designed by Linacre for use in St Paul's School, which his friend Colet founded in 1512, but it was not the sort of book that Colet wanted for his schoolboys, and Linacre was vexed by its rejection It was left with him unused, and, during the twelve years that it remained unpublished, Linacre developed it into a book addressed to the wants of workers who studied language as a science After Linacre's death the book was frequently reprinted in different parts of Europe, and had Melancthon and Camerarius among its editors

Eight days before Linacre's death, the King signed the Letters Patent by which the old physician spent part of his wealth in founding three Lectures on Medicine, two at Oxford, one at Cambridge, which were to be called Linacre's Lectures He placed property in the keeping of the Mercers' Company for their support, but it was not until the third year of Edward VI that Cuthbert Tunstal, the surviving trustee, was able to establish these lectures, by placing a senior and a junior Reader in Merton College, Oxford, and a Reader in St John's College, Cambridge

Foundation of the London College of Physicians

Linacre also made provision in the last years of his life, and obtained Letters Patent in 1518, for the foundation in London of a College of Physicians The Letters Patent were granted to himself and five other physicians, of whom two, John Chamber and Fernandus de Victoria, were, like himself, physicians to the King The College was to have control over its members in London and within seven miles of London, it was to examine medicines as well as those by whom they were administered, and it could exclude from the practice of medicine any who were not licensed by the President and College But the Bishop of London and Dean of St Paul's had the right to grant degrees in medicine upon examination, with the help of four physicians

and some surgeons as assessors, and this right remained to them The Letters Patent of the College of Physicians were extended and confirmed by a statute of the fourteenth year of Henry VIII, about twelve months before Linacre's death Linacre assigned to the new College in his lifetime the use of part of his house in Knightrider Street, with possession of the whole after his death, and until his death he took the chair at its meetings, Founder and First President of the Royal College of Physicians of London, the most lasting of his works *

Linacre died of stone, with ulceration of the bladder, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, on the 20th of October, 1524 He was buried in the old Cathedral of St Paul's, in ground carefully chosen by himself and defined in his will, near the foot of the cross by the north door But grave, cross, and old cathedral are no more Where Linacre was laid, fire has made all things new

* A Life of Linacre, by J N Johnson, with incidental sketches of his friends, was edited by Dr R Graves in 1835

CHAPTER II

NEW LIFE—NEW WORLD—ADVANCE OF CHURCH REFORM

Discovery of America

To the Invention of Printing and the new life quickened in Europe by the Greeks dispersed after the Fall of Constantinople, there is to be added yet a third event that gave new breadth and boldness to the march of life towards the close of the fifteenth century. While the Greeks taught men to reap new harvests in recovered fields of the intellectual world known to the ancients, seafarers turned into truth the old Greek fable of an Atlantis far away beyond the pillars of Hercules across the ocean. Speculation was emboldened and imagination stimulated by the mere fact, before men felt the stir of its material consequences.

During the early part of the reign of Henry VII., the New World was discovered. Sebastian Cabot, born at Bristol, the son of a Venetian pilot, was but twenty years old when, on a voyage with his father and two brothers in the service of Henry VII., for the discovery and occupation of new lands, he first saw the mainland of America, in 1497. Christopher Columbus, born in Italy in 1445, went to sea about the time when, in 1462, the printers of Mayence were first scattered, and was voyaging northward beyond Iceland, and southward to the coast of Guinea, while the printer's press was being first set up in sundry capitals of Europe. Columbus, in the service of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, had found for Spain in 1492 the West

India Islands On his third voyage in search of new lands and their wealth, in 1498, he saw the mainland of America, which had been seen by the Cabots in 1497, and which was named after Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine, who did not visit it till 1499 "Spain, that used to be called poor, is now the most wealthy of kingdoms," Columbus wrote, but in his old age he had for one ornament of his home the chains in which he had been sent home from Hispaniola by men weary of one who vexed them with restraints of honesty "For seven years," he wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella, "was I at your Royal Court, where everyone to whom the enterprise was mentioned treated it as ridiculous, but now there is not a man, down to the very tailors, who does not beg to be allowed to become a discoverer There is reason to believe that they make the voyage only for plunder, and that they are permitted to do so, to the great disparagement of my honour, and the detriment of the undertaking itself It is right to give God His due, and to receive that which belongs to one's self I was twenty-eight years old when I came into your Highnesses' service, and now I have not a hair upon me that is not grey, my body is infirm, and all that was left to me, as well as to my brothers, has been taken away and sold, even to the frock that I wore, to my great dishonour" So Columbus wrote from the Indies, in July, 1503, when absent on his fourth and last voyage to the New World, the voyage following that from which he had returned in chains With a pure heart and noble mind, he had served the greed of men, and to his death, in 1506, he still found Mammon an ungrateful master

And the new life still springs In the same year, 1474 (old style), were born, within six months of each other, Ariosto and Michael Angelo Nine years later, in the same year, 1483, were born Raffaelle and Luther

Wyclif had not laboured in vain A Lollard memorial

to Parliament, eleven years after his death, contained in its twelve clauses* the chief points insisted on by later Church Reformers They represented Rome as stepmother to the English Church, and Pride of Rome as having banished Faith and Hope and Charity They said that the Roman Priesthood is not that which was ordained by Christ and His Apostles That sodomy comes of the continence required of priests to the prejudice of women That the feigned miracle of transubstantiation leads to idolatry, as Wyclif, the Evangelical Doctor, said in his Trialogus, the bread in the Last Supper is still bread That exorcisms and blessings over wine, bread, water, oil, salt, wax, incense, over stone of the altar and over walls of the church, over vestment and mitre, over cross and over pilgrim's staff, belong to necromancy rather than to true theology That to unite in one person a bishop and a king, a prelate and a temporal judge, establishes misrule That special prayers for souls of the dead are a false ground of almsgiving That pilgrimages, prayers, and oblations to blind crosses and deaf images are near to idolatry and far from almsgiving That auricular confession, said to be so necessary to salvation, exalts the pride of priests, and gives occasion for their misdoing they say they have the keys of heaven and hell, and sell God's blessing by the card for twelvepence That slaughter by war, or in the name of justice, for temporal causes, without spiritual revelation, is expressly contrary to the New Testament, which is the law of grace and full of mercies Christ teaches men to love their enemies That vows of virginity by women in the Church lead to child-

Continued influence of Wyclif

* First printed by Foxe in his second Latin edition of the Book of Martyrs In the British Museum (Cotton, Cleopatra, E 2) there is a MS of the twelve "*Conclusiones Lollardorum in quodam libello porrectæ pleno Parliamento Regis Angliæ*" (1395), and another MS of them in the Bodleian

murder and other horrible crimes That men would be better without a multitude of useless arts, as of the goldsmith and the armourer, which lead to idleness and waste

As long as there survived many in Oxford who had heard the living voice of Wyclif, his memory was cherished at the University by a body of men strong enough to speak sometimes as with the power of the University itself Although persecution of the Lollards was far advanced by the year 1406, yet on the 5th of October in that year a Declaration was made by the Chancellor and an assembly of University Graduates, confirmed by the possibly usurped seal of the University, vindicating Wyclif from the charge of heresy, and maintaining his honour as strong champion of the faith, who used weapons of Holy Scripture against traducers of the religion of Christ After few more years all power was in the hands of a generation that had not known Wyclif, and had been trained into familiarity with a Church policy of violent attack upon the Lollards Eight years after that testimony on behalf of Wyclif, the University of Oxford urged on the King that every officer of State he appointed should be pledged to assist the Church in destroying heresy, and that the lands and goods of all men found by the Church guilty of heresy should be forfeit to the Crown Lollards who had gathered together in large numbers to hear the Bible read and explained to them in their mother-tongue, could meet only secretly in small conventicles, or read in their own homes, and many poor men learnt to read that they might find food for their souls John Claydon, a furrier of the parish of St Anne, Aldersgate, was burnt at Smithfield, after a hearing in the Chapter House of St Paul's, in August, 1415, touching his possession of heretical books He said that the books were his, that he could not himself read, but he had caused them to be read to him, because he thought they spoke truths wholesome to his soul For many a year afterwards in England

the living fire, that had not been stamped out, was smouldering, elsewhere it broke out into flame and spread It spread from England to Bohemia, and thus prepared the way for Luther

Until the marriage of the good Queen Anne to Richard II, England and Bohemia knew but little of each other

Bohemian Church Reformers

Anne of Bohemia brought Bohemian fashions into London, and in her day Bohemian students came even more readily to Oxford than to Paris She landed at Dover in December, 1381, and was married twenty days after Christmas This was in Wyclif's lifetime, and in one of his books, Wyclif, in justifying translation of the Bible, referred to the likelihood that "our noble Queen of England, sister of the Cæsar, may have the Gospel written in three languages—Bohemian, German, and Latin"—but she was not therefore, to be called a heretic When Queen Anne left Prague, an independent movement towards Church Reform had been already active there After long subjection to the Archbishopric of Mayence, Prague obtained a first Archbishop of its own in Ernst of Pradowitz, who began, in 1349, to work through synods for right ordering of a Bohemian Church He sought to restrain encroachments of the nobles, immorality of priests, and secure to every poor man a knowledge in his mother-tongue of the Ten Commandments, the Belief, and the Lord's Prayer In 1349 Conrad, of the village of Waldhausen, in Upper Austria, took priest's orders His zeal as a preacher caused him, about twelve years later, to be invited to Bohemia, where, besides holding a country living, he came to be the eminent preacher in the great church of Prague, or in the great square when the church would not contain the crowd of listeners He made unflinching war upon the vices, and produced fruits of repentance He died in December, 1369 By his side there arose Milicz, a pure Bohemian, who, in 1363, gave up

all worldly possessions, preached in their own tongue to the country people, and won in time so wide a hearing that on Sundays or Feast Days he would preach two, three, or even five times in different churches, to the people in Czech, to the learned in Latin, and he learnt German that he might preach also in their own language to the Germans who were settled among them He too attacked the vices, and where success was hardest to attain, he succeeded so completely that he emptied in Prague the quarter of the town devoted to light women, called Little Venice, and caused its land to be built over with homes in which they could live honourable lives, changing the name of that quarter to Little Jerusalem He called upon the Pope to put down Antichrist by establishing a just rule in the Church, for "where iniquity abounds the love of many shall wax cold" When Conrad of Waldhausen died, in 1369, Milicz succeeded him as preacher in the Theim Church at Prague He fell under suspicion of heresy, and went to the Pope to clear himself not many weeks before his death in 1374 A follower of Milicz, Matthias of Janow, carried on his work for the next twenty years, until his death in 1394, and he was made a Canon of the Cathedral at Prague in the year of the marriage of Anne of Bohemia to Richard II Anne of Bohemia was born in Prague The character of the young Queen—which won for her the love of the whole English people, and caused Chaucer to inscribe to her his "Legend of Good Women"—was formed where men like these were honoured champions of truth and love

In Wyclif the young students who came, full of zeal, from Prague to Oxford, found a power beyond that of Milicz or Janow They studied his philosophy, they listened reverently to his interpretations of the Scripture, and for three years he was a living presence to them After his death he lived in his writings The Bohemians copied them and took them home to Prague The soil was ready

for the seed and among the Bohemians, John Wyclif's spirit passed into the body of John Hus

Hus is a shortened form of Husinetz, a village seventy-five miles from Prague, and not far from the source of the Moldau In that village Hus was born, on the 6th of July, 1369—year of the death of Conrad of Waldhausen His family could afford him a good education, and he was sent to the University of Prague, where he graduated in 1394 as Bachelor of Theology, and in 1396 as Master of Arts Like Wyclif, he was a University man who won the regard of his colleagues In 1401 he was Dean of the Philosophical Faculty, and in 1402-3 served his half-year as Rector of the University It was after he had taken his M A degree that he altered his name from John Husinetz to John Hus He was graduating at Prague just at the time when students from England had brought, and were still bringing, into its University copy after copy made by them of the philosophical and theological writings of Wyclif Hus fastened upon these There is a manuscript in Stockholm from the hand of Hus which contains five of Wyclif's philosophical treatises, copied in the year 1398—copied, probably, for use in lectures From the philosophical, Hus passed to the theological writings Then there rose in him the great wave of enthusiasm for the highest spiritual life He was ordained priest in the year 1402, and began preaching in Prague He regretted the time lost in chess play, and his young fastidiousness about clothes His appointment was to a newly founded chapel named Bethlehem, where he was required, by one of the founders' statutes, to preach in Bohemian (Czech) at times outside the usual hours of service in the church Hus then had the confidence of the Archbishop, and he preached without reserve In the University there was restriction placed on any lecturing that set forth Wyclif's doctrine of transub-

John Hus

stantiation and some other opinions of his But, until the year 1408, Hus found the Archbishop ready to support and aid him, even against superstitious customs in the Church that Wyclif had condemned

In 1408 Hus had brought on himself attacks of the clergy for the freedom of his preaching in the Bethlehem Chapel against fees taken from the poor by priests for the performance of Church rites, as those of baptism and burial He was suspended from the priestly office, just at the time when there was a failure of attempts to end the schism in the Papacy that rent the stronghold of the Papal power Benedict XIII was Pope in Avignon, and Gregory XII was Pope in Rome Cardinals then proposed to reunite the Church by putting aside the choice between one Pope and the other King Wenceslas of Bohemia adopted this plan of neutrality, but the Archbishop of Prague held that the Church of Bohemia was bound to obey Gregory XII The King wished for a confirmation of his view from the Prague University John Hus and the Bohemian "nation" in the University held with the King, but the other three "nations"—the Bavarian, the Polish, and the Saxon—held with the Archbishop King Wenceslas presently decreed that the Bohemian nation in the University of Prague, like the French at the University of Paris, should have three votes, and the three other nations collectively should have one vote The French in Paris had three votes because three of the four nations represented three regions of France, and the foreigner with one vote was the fourth "nation"—the English This settlement gave to the King of Bohemia the support of the Prague University, and he then issued his mandate to laity and clergy of his kingdom that they should no longer obey Gregory XII The result of his action, however was that the graduates of the three nations in the University of Prague—that represented Bavarians, including Austrians, Swabians, Franconians, and Rhine-

landers, Poles, including Silesians, Lithuanians, and Russians, Saxons, including the people of Upper and Lower Saxony, Thuringians, Danes, and Swedes—departed in a body, and founded, on the 2nd of December, 1409, the University of Leipzig

Prague was thus left to be simply a national Bohemian University, and in that form it had Hus for its first Rector, standing high in favour of the King and people But the Archbishop and the Church were now against him Inquiry was made after utterances of his in praise of Wyclif the heretic, with suggestion that Antichrist was to be found at Rome In March, 1409, the Council of Pisa had met, deposed both the contending Popes, and appointed in their place a third Pope, Alexander V The Archbishop of Prague accepted this decision, and transferred allegiance from Gregory XII to Alexander V on the 2nd of September, 1409 To the new Pope it was then represented that heresies of Wyclif had been spread throughout Bohemia and Moravia In return came a bull giving the Archbishop independent powers of action, notwithstanding any appeal to the Papal See, a bull, said Hus, that the Pope had sold for money The Archbishop set up a small committee of doctors, and required all copies of books by Wyclif to be brought in and submitted to them for examination Hus brought his own books, other men obeyed, and two hundred volumes, many of them simply philosophical treatises, were offered for examination They were all promptly condemned as heretical, and sentenced to the fire By the same sentence all preaching in chapels was forbidden Hus paid no heed He preached, indeed, in the Bethlehem Chapel against these enormities. The University protested and reasoned On the 16th of July, 1410, to the accompaniment of a *Te Deum* and much bell-ringing, the two hundred volumes of Wyclif's writings were publicly burnt at Prague, in the courtyard of the Archbishop's palace

Two days afterwards, John Hus was excommunicated, together with some of his friends. The result was that the Archbishop found the University and the great body of the people ranged against him. Students mocked in the streets at his book-burning. We have plenty more, they said, of Wyclif's books, and will make ourselves new copies faster, faster, faster! The people set up rude scoffing rhymes against him—

> "Sbynjek, Bishop, Abecedan,
> Burns the books and doesn't read 'em."

The Archbishop was even driven by a mob from the high altar, with sixty priests that were about him; and a preacher in one of the churches of Prague, when he attempted to read the sentence of excommunication against Hus, was forced out of his pulpit. King Wenceslas tried to make peace by forbidding men, on penalty of death, to sing mocking verses against the Archbishop; and by calling upon the Archbishop and those who acted with him to pay their owners for the books they had destroyed. Upon failure to obey this order, his Majesty proceeded to stop the money claimed of the delinquent clergy from the income drawn by them.

Hus and his friends went boldly on, appealing to the Pope against the Archbishop, to whose sentences they paid no heed. Hus lectured at the University upon eighteen works of Wyclif that the Archbishop had burnt, and maintained the soundness of their doctrine. He continued to preach in the Bethlehem Chapel in the language of the people, who thronged to him. When Hus spoke, in a sermon, of the Pope's bull accusing the Bohemians of heresy, and said, "I know no Bohemian who is a heretic," the people cried aloud, "He lies! he lies!" Alexander V. was dead, and to his successor, John XXIII., both King and Queen of Bohemia wrote. They complained of his

predecessor's accusation against the Bohemians, and called for the annulling of the excommunication against Hus John XXIII justified the action of the Archbishop of Prague, and summoned Hus before the Papal Court Soon the whole city of Prague was placed under interdict, but Hus preached on to the crowds gathered in his Bethlehem chapel The war of prelacy with King and people was, after a time, submitted by agreement to high arbitration The arbiters in three days came to a decision, and required concessions from both sides, but from the Archbishop most Hus did all that was required of him The Archbishop left Prague, and on his way into Hungary fell sick, and died in September, 1411

In May, 1412, there came to Prague a commissary from the Pope John XXIII with bulls to authorise, by sale of indulgences and other ways, the raising of money for a crusade that the Pope John had declared against King Ladislas of Apulia, who was a supporter of the other Pope, Gregory XII Hus attacked this as vigorously as Wyclif had attacked, in 1383, the levying of a crusade by Urban VI against Clement VII * He maintained that Pope or Bishop had no power of the sword, and least of all when it was used to obtain earthly possessions He maintained also, against sale of indulgences, that a priest could declare pardon of sin after repentance, but that he could not do so unconditionally, and least of all in exchange for money At a public disputation on the subject, Hus's follower, Jerome of Prague, who had been twice to Oxford, and had copied, with his own hand, Wyclif's "Dialogue" and "Trialogue," became, by his passionate speech, the hero of the day At the wish of King Wenceslas, Hus withdrew from Prague, but in this time of his retirement from the capital he preached in other places, wrote inspiring letters, and was busy upon some of his best work Pope John was urgent

* "E W" v 81

against him A General Council at Rome of cardinals, bishops, and doctors condemned Wyclif's "Dialogue" and "Trialogue" and other of his works, and another General Council, actively promoted by King Sigismund of Hungary, was summoned to meet at Constance on the 1st of November, 1414 Heresies in Bohemia would come into question, subordinate to other questions on other causes of division in the Church Hus, with a safe-conduct from King Sigismund, was ready to defend himself and his people against the charge of having fallen from the law of Christ Hus did not receive the King's letter of safe-conduct until he was already in Constance There he arranged for the disposal of his worldly goods after his death, and wrote a farewell letter to his Bohemian friends The Council of Constance declared Wyclif a heretic The Council of Constance burnt John Hus on the 6th of July, 1415, with the prayer on his lips, "O God, in Thee have I trusted, into Thine hands I commend my spirit" Jerome of Prague was burnt on the 30th of the next following May Having been driven, in an hour of weakness, to recant, he ended with firm declaration that he held all the articles of the Christian faith as the Church held them, but that he would not say there had been heresy in Wyclif and Hus, who were condemned unrighteously because, he said to his accusers, "they taught and wrote of your disorderly life to your reproof and correction"

The Council of Constance

Hus, like Wyclif, rejected customs and traditions that were not in reasonable conformity with the law of Christ contained in the New Testament In placing the infallibility of the Bible above that of the Pope, he necessarily gave an authority to Reason and Conscience as interpreters, which implied a right of judgment in the private reader By so doing Hus, like Wyclif, made impossible that unity of doctrine that the Church had laboured to obtain. The world had not

Continued influence of Wyclif's teaching

discovered then, and has not quite discovered yet, that our diversities of intellectual opinion are a blessing, not a curse The weaknesses of free interpretation, where many of the interpreters are men of feeble judgment and, faithfully aiming at the highest they can know, may yet not aim high, were obvious enough in the English Biblemen, against whom, in the middle of the fifteenth century, Reginald Pecock reasoned But weak and strong they made their own use of their reason, and Pecock, in his "Repressor," only sought to show, by use of better reason, where they erred Use of reason in the study of the Bible, and use of the Bible as the book with which all good doctrine and practice must agree, Bishop Pecock himself taught He was condemned for doing so *

The followers of Hus were Continental Lollards, and when their doctrine spread through parts of Germany that answered afterwards to the appeal of Luther, it was the seed scattered by Wyclif that was ripening to harvest

Distraction of the Church good Churchmen sought to heal by appealing from the Popes, in whom faith failed, to the Councils, and placing the authority of an Œcumenical Council above that of the Holy Father On the other hand, Pius II, in 1460, by his bull *Execrabilis*, declared the doctrine of appeal from the Pope to a Council to be damnable Nevertheless there was on each side in the controversy a desire to fix on some authority beyond that of the Pope One side found this in a General Council, the collective wisdom of picked men The other side found it in the Bible, studied by the light of reason and conscience, each man seeking faithfully to find the truth, and using only such aid from opinions of other men as he himself thought to be trustworthy It is the old difference in minds of men, established for our help in all the wars of truth one side inclined to rest upon authority, the other inclined

* "E W" vi 183—185

rather to use independent judgment in the seeking for reforms

These were the types of the chief oppositions of opinion in Christendom at the end of the fifteenth century, when Luther, the miner's son, was studying at Magdeburg, and Eisenach, and Erfurth, and was drawn by strength of his religious feeling into the Augustine order Then he taught philosophy in the University at Wittenberg, visited Rome, came back and taught theology as Doctor of Divinity So followed, early in the sixteenth century, the day that opened a new period in European history, and Martin Luther began his career as a Reformer by affixing his Ninety-five Theses against Indulgences to the church door at Wittenberg He was then a pious, preaching monk, a Doctor and Professor of Divinity in the University of Wittenberg, aged thirty-four, desiring to be faithful alike to his Church and to his conscience Leo X, to meet the expenses of the Roman Court, and for the completion of St Peter's at Rome, raised money by an indiscriminate sale of indulgences His commissary, John Tetzel, had told the people that when one dropped a penny into the box for a soul in purgatory, so soon as the money chinked in the chest the soul flew up to heaven Luther opposed Tetzel replied Luther dutifully submitted his propositions to Pope Leo X The papal legate, Caietan, foiled by Luther's firm placing of Scripture above the Pope, when he had thought to bring the poor monk to reason, said, "I will not speak to the beast again, he has deep eyes, and his head is full of speculation" Leo X forced Luther into open opposition to the See of Rome by issuing, in November, 1518, a bull declaring the Pope's power to issue indulgences which will avail not only the living, but also the dead who are in purgatory Luther still held by his Church, but appealed from the Pope to a General Council

Luther

CHAPTER III

SOUTH OF THE TWEED BERNARD ANDRÉ AND POLYDORE VERGIL, STEPHEN HAWES, AND OTHER WRITERS UNDER KING HENRY VII

Reign of Henry VII

SOUTH OF THE TWEED in the twenty-four years of Henry VII's reign, from 1485 to 1509, the fields of Literature lay still bound by the long winter of a Civil War The quarrels in a greedy family had wasted England, but warmed no heart with a touch of heavenly fire Again I say that the best Literature is born only of days in which men are touched to their souls by care for something that calls forth their noblest energies, battle for freedom, battle of any kind for what is deeply felt to be the right

But while the ground lay fallow, its rest was not idleness The King who, on the 18th of January, 1486, joined the Red and the White Rose by marriage with Elizabeth of York, worked cautiously and shrewdly for the weakening of feudal powers that made his great nobles dangerous to his authority, and to the well-being of the middle class By prudent advances he broke down the organisation of large bodies of retainers, who wore badges of the nobles from whom they received maintenance and livery, because these were as bands of volunteers ready for strife, each at the call of a chief's personal ambition Henry VII increased royal revenues as much as possible at the expense of the great nobles, and made it his constant, quiet labour to underpin the foundations of a sunken monarchy When

Lambert Simnel failed as a Pretender against him, Henry forgave him, and established him as turnspit in his kitchen When he was obliged to raise an army against France, Henry made that a means of getting out of France a handsome payment for not going on with a war he had no mind to His avarice came of his desire to support with a full treasury the power of the Sovereign It grew at last to be a master-passion that destroyed the right balance of mind in a cool, sensible, and not unkindly man

The reign of Henry VII was a time of preparation for new harvest The New Learning came in and was spread over the ground Its quickening power would be known by the fruits yielded in a later season Young Thomas More, at the end of Henry VII's reign, was ready to quit England, out of hope Not many years afterwards Greek Platonists, and seamen of Henry VII and of Ferdinand and Isabella, had caused the genius of Thomas More to bring forth his "Utopia," that linked the newest havings to the noblest hopes of men

It is evidence of the weakness of our Literature under Henry VII that two foreigners, a Frenchman and an Italian, Bernard André and Polydore Vergil, would have been named by the King himself or by any Englishman if he had then been asked who were the chief writers in England Bernard André, the blind scholar of Toulouse, whom the King entrusted with the education of Arthur, Prince of Wales, and to whom we now return,* was the first man whom an English King named as his Poet Laureate The payment made to him of a hundred shillings every New Year was entered to the name of "Master Barnard, the blind poet"

Bernard André

Bernard André began in the year 1500 a Life of Henry VII, in the title of which he also styles himself Royal Historiographer —

André's Life of Henry VII

* "E W" vii, 37

"*Bernardi Andreæ Tholosatis, Poetæ Laureati, Regii Historiographi, de Vita atque Gestis Henrici Septimi, Angliæ ac Franciæ Regis Regum Potentissimi Sapientissimique, Historia*"*

This history, which has many omissions, ends with the close of the story of Perkin Warbeck It is well stuffed with the rhetoric of praise, but has the very great advantage of being a record of the reign written within the reign, by an able man, who could not help reflecting much of the opinion and feeling of the day André begins with the King's descent on the father's side from Cadwallader, and on the mother's side from royal blood of France, and it may be said in passing that the quick wit of the Tudors owes more than a little to the fact that Henry the Seventh's father was son to the Welshman Owen Tudor, who married the French Princess Katherine, widow of King Henry V We owe very much in England to Teutonic intermarriage with the Celt, and so it is that to the Celt we owe the spirit of the Tudors The son of Owen and Katherine, Edmund Tudor, was on neither side a Teuton, and all the English blood in Henry VII came from his mother, Margaret Beaufort, daughter to John first Duke of Somerset, great granddaughter to John of Gaunt through Chaucer's sister in law, Catherine Swynford That was the Lady Margaret, the King's mother, the patron of sound literature and best friend to high endeavour in her day But we owe much as a people to the Welsh blood in the Tudors

From the King's pedigree, Bernard André, in his History of Henry VII, passes on to his birth and early education, the troubled state of England in his youth, his mother's care for him, and her speech to the Earl of Pembroke, her late husband's brother, suggesting reasons why the youth should be sent abroad The Earl of Pembroke's assenting reply next follows, and Henry is sent to Brittany, where his friendly reception is expressed by a speech from the Duke of Brittany Then Bernard André pauses to tell of the rise and growth of the Wars of the Roses, of the cruel death of King Henry VI, over which he pours lament, headed *Auctoris lacrymosa exclamatio*, and he puts into the King's mouth a last prayer

* Published in 1858, with other writings relative to the same reign, as "Memorials of King Henry VII," edited by James Gairdner, in the series of Chronicles and Memorials, issued under the direction of the Master of the Rolls In this volume, with its Introduction, and in the Life of Henry VII, written by Mr James Gairdner himself in 1890 for the "Twelve English Statesmen" series, the beginning of the Tudor period can best be studied

Bernard André then goes on to tell of the calamities that followed, of the evil reign of Richard III, Henry's escape from Brittany, help given him by Charles VIII of France, and when he embarks for England, his mind is expressed by putting into his mouth a prayer before embarking, and an address also to his soldiers The soldiers call upon the Earl of Oxford to reply for them, and he, therefore, makes a speech When they are landed in England, there is another oration from Richmond, followed by a speech from Richard III, which pictures his exasperation When the Battle of Bosworth has to be described, the eye, says Bernard André, discerns such things better than the ear, and I am blind Till I am better instructed, I leave here the battlefield upon my paper, in plain white He leaves accordingly a page and a half blank (Would that some later historians had been as considerate in this matter of battles !)

Bernard André proceeds to set forth, after the victory, the Earl of Richmond's thanksgiving to God He is made King, is crowned in London, and Bernard now himself expatiates in sapphic verse upon the victory * After some notes on the honours of the coronation, Bernard André proceeds to the King's marriage, and sets forth the piety of Edward the Fourth's daughter Elizabeth, her joy at Henry's victory, his marriage to her, and the birth of Prince Arthur Here André inserts lyric verses of his own in fortunate prognostication, with five-and thirty lines from a long poem of his upon Prince Arthur's birth The poem includes a few borrowings from Tibullus Prince Arthur's precocity is next set forth, and his creation in 1489 as Prince of Wales Then follow the blind Court Poet's hexameters and sapphics upon the theme of this creation Bernard tells next how the Pope sent to Henry VII the Sword of Justice and the Cap of Maintenance, and of foreign ambassadors who brought congratulations This is followed by brief reference to the rebellion in the North, that introduces Bernard's poem in sapphic verse upon the murder of the Earl of Northumberland, subject also of one of the first poems of John Skelton The gist of this poem is still praise of the King, who is subduing discords † Then

* This is the first of its nine stanzas

"Musa præclaros age dic triumphos
Regis Henrici decus ac trophæum
Septimi, lentis fidibus canora
Dic age, Clio"

† "Laurigei princeps, placidusque, mitis,
Hosticos omnes reprimit furores,
Ut diuturna liceat Britannis
Vivere pace."

follow the Irish difficulties, with the imposture of Lambert Simnel, Henry's speech to his soldiers, the subduing of the rebels, and the blind poet's verses of congratulation on the victory

A crusade is proclaimed by the Pope, and Bernard André sets down twenty lines of verse that he produced extempore upon the coming of the Legate An Ambassador from France seeks peace, and there comes an Embassy from Maximilian Births of two more children are recorded, Prince Henry and the Princess Margaret Then France is invaded Henry makes a speech Siege is set to Boulogne, and agreement made as to the consideration given for Henry's staying of the action Then follow three short poems and a long one, with some rhetoric in prose, upon the return from France of the most victorious King, interspersed in the usual manner with speeches

We are made also to hear speech of Margaret of Burgundy, of Perkin Warbeck, of the King, and even of Perkin's distressed wife, who, after Perkin has confessed his imposture, comes to the King weeping Henry addresses to her a consoling speech, and then she relieves her mind with a good round scold at her husband "O perfidissime hominum O me miseram , Scelestissime Sceleratissime"

In the Preface to this fragment of elaborated history, Bernard André spoke of his intention to produce every year a piece of literature for the King, and he probably did justify his title of Royal Historiographer with a yearly record of events in the King's reign Unique copies remain of Annals that were written by André for the twentieth and twenty-third years of Henry VII's reign (1504–5 and 1507), and for the years 1515 and 1521 in the reign of Henry VIII, soon after which last date André seems to have died The "Annals" for 1507, preceded by French verses to the King, were written during the year, not at the close of it, and the value of these four detached records gives us reason to regret the twelve or thirteen that appear to have been lost *

Annals

* James Gairdner, in his Preface to the "Memorials of King Henry VII," very happily illustrates the advantage of direct reference to Bernard André Bacon, in writing his "Life of Henry VII,"

Bernard André wrote also, about the year 1497, as Court Poet and Historiographer, a poem in French, which set forth

Hercules
Henry VII

The Twelve Triumphs of Henry VII

as parallel to the Twelve Labours of Hercules * Juno instigated King Eurystheus to impose his labours upon Hercules Who is Juno? She is the Dowager of Flanders, who instigated one who calls himself "King of the Romans" (I know not if he be so) to destroy this good King Him I mean for Eurystheus (1) Hercules fought with the lion of Cleonæ, and wore his hide That was Charles VIII (clearly suggested, but not named, by the blind French poet), and the hide worn was the wealth taken of him (2) Hercules killed the Hydra Henry

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used Speed's History, and Speed used André Bacon wrote that, after Bosworth, Henry entered London, "himself not being on horseback or on any open chair or throne, but in a close chariot, as one that, having been sometimes an enemy to the whole state, and a proscribed person, chose rather to keep state, and strike a reverence into people, than to fawn upon them" This stood in Speed — "Henry staid not in ceremonious greetings and popular acclamations, which, it seems, he did purposely eschew, for that, *as Andreas saith*, he entered covertly, meaning belike, in a horse litter or close chariot" But when we read what "Andreas saith," we find that Speed has simply misread "lætanter," joyfully, into "latenter," secretly Bernard André had written that the King "Quo etiam die de hostibus triumpharet, urbem Londinum magna procerum comitate caterva *lætanter* ingressus est" Thus, with sententious dignity, a fiction takes its state in history, its parentage a vagrant pair of vowels

* "*Les Douze Triomphes de Henry VII Ensuivent douze Gestes que Hercilles fist en son temps, figurées sus douze Triumphes que a faictes tres illustre et puissant Roy Henry VII de ce nom, Roy d'Angleterre*" This MS is in the British Museum Bibl Reg 16 E xvii It is on paper of the same quarto size as that used for the other works of Bernard André, and the poem contains classical similes —as of Margaret of Burgundy to Juno, and of Henry VII to Hercules struggling with Envy—that are used also in André's "Life of Henry VII" The three unique MSS of Bernard André's "History of Henry VII" and "Annals" are all in the Cotton Collection The History is in Domitian xviii, the Annals are in Julius A iii and iv

destroyed the dissensions of great lords (3) Hercules slew the wild boar of Arcadia Henry's wild boar was Richard III (4) Hercules killed the stag Henpides with golden horns to Henry this was the Earl of Lincoln (5) Hercules drove from Arcadia the great devouring birds called the Stymphalides Henry cleared England of robbers, and put down piracy by sea (6) Hercules overcame Menalippe Queen of the Amazons, and took her girdle that was the Dowager of Flanders, who lost her girdle of strength when she squandered money upon Perkin Warbeck (7) Hercules overcame Diomedes, who murdered passers-by and gave them to his horses to eat Martin Swart threatened to kill all who were on Henry's side, but he and his people were cut to pieces (8) The great bull who was subdued by Hercules is paralleled by Henry's success in taming the King of Scotland (9) The triumph of Hercules over the three-headed Geryon is paralleled with Henry's triumph over the King of the Romans, the Archduke and the Dowager (10) The Cacus of the tenth exploit is Perkin Warbeck (11) Perkin's three captains make up the three headed Cerberus of the eleventh Labour, and (12) the last was the overcoming of the dragon Maxille—Maximilian—who barred the way to the Gardens of the Hesperides—that is to say, who stopped the course of trade Then follows the story of the shirt of Nessus, and the miserable end of Hercules Did he deserve it? Yes Hercules broke his marriage vow, wherefore his glory must be less than that of our good King So the piece ends with the praise of a greater than Hercules, Henry VII, who hates vice and loves virtue "*Il veult user de noble et bonne vie*"

Polydore Vergil

If we turn now from the Frenchman who was Henry VII's Poet Laureate—the Laureate throughout his reign—we find as high in esteem among contemporary writers in this country the Italian Polydore Vergil Born at Urbino, about 1470, or a few years later, in his earlier life he taught Literature at Bologna He was stirred by the new enthusiasm that had led to a revival of scholarship, and acquired for himself a Latin style by which he was distinguished honourably among Latin writers of his day Erasmus, not very much his senior, was among his friends While still in Italy, Polydore Vergil published in Latin, in 1498, with a Dedication to Guido Ubaldi, Duke of Urbino, a collection

of pithy sayings, classical and scriptural Each Adage had a short added comment to set forth its origin, explain any allusion in it, and make its intention clear The phrases were well chosen, the glosses not too long and written pleasantly, the wit and wisdom in the Bible was well represented, and the book found many readers * This was a new kind of book, and when Erasmus closely followed him with a better volume of Adages, that claimed also to be first of its kind, Polydore Vergil missed due recognition of his own He said so in the Preface to his next book, on the Inventors of Things, first published in 1499, but he bore none of the ill-will that critics have supposed At the suggestion of Erasmus, he did not reprint the passage of complaint, and he referred afterwards to the matter with a kindly courtesy When Erasmus was about to print his Adages, Polydore had, in playful talk over dinner, told him he was a rival This Erasmus had forgotten, when he thought himself first in the field So trivial a matter could not touch his feeling towards a friend, of whose genius Polydore then gives the most ungrudging recognition † The notion of a book of Adages had, in fact, occurred to each man separately, and in the mind of each there was the sense of having entered on new ground

Polydore's second book dealt in another way with wit of men, and was not less successful The work, as first issued, was in three books, and so remained through the first four editions,‡ but five books were added in the fifth

* The first edition of Polydore Vergil's "*Adagiorum Opus*" was printed at Venice in 1498, and its second edition was printed, also at Venice, in 1506 It was published again at Basel in 1521, and again in 1541

† See in Bayle's Dictionary the note L to the article on Polydore Vergil, giving the passage from Polydore's letter to Dr Richard Pace, in dedication to him of the Basel, 1521, edition of the Adagia

‡ Venice, 1499, 1533, Strasburg, 1509, 1512, all 4to.

edition, published at Basel in 1517 Polydore, then resident in England, dedicated the eight books of his history of Inventors of Things to his brother, Giovanni Matteo, who practised physic at Ferrara, and taught logic there, but afterwards became Professor of Philosophy at Padua Polydore rightly included the ancients among the inventors of some customs associated by the Church with Christian festivals For this reason his book of Inventors was put into the Expurgatory Index, without prejudice to the author's character Many years afterwards, in 1576, Pope Gregory XIII brought it again into free circulation by printing a new edition with the passages omitted which the Church condemned Polydore's reputation stood so high, for his good sense, and good Latin, and the pleasant matter of his books, that when Pope Alexander VI sent him to England as collector of the Peter's Pence—he was the last who held that office for the Pope—he came as a famous Italian, and was cordially received by Henry VII, and by the best scholars in England Good-will increased Polydore Vergil obtained the Rectory of Church Langton in Leicestershire, and resolved to make England his home for life The Bishop of Wells, Adrian Costello, was one of the Italians to whom the Pope gave Church incomes in England That Bishop of Wells, being a kinsman of Polydore's, presented him, in 1507, to the Wells Archdeaconry He obtained nearly at the same time the Prebends of Nonnington in the Church of Hereford, and Scamelsby in the Church of Lincoln, which latter preferment he resigned in 1513 for the Prebend of Oxgate in St Paul's

Polydore Vergil's "History"

Polydore Vergil wrote in Latin a "History of England"—"*Anglicæ Historiæ, Libri* 26"—which ends with the end of the reign of Henry VII, and is a chief witness to the events that happened in that reign Bernard André, the companion autho-

rity, wrote within the reign itself, Polydore Vergil lived in the reign, but wrote his History some years after Henry VII.'s death His published writings belong to the early part of his life—the time when he had not yet left Italy—and to the latter part of his life in England, when Henry VIII was King But, under Henry VIII, our national life was astir, and Polydore Vergil's was the last piece of sustained national history written in Latin Had the writer been an Englishman, that also would have been in English It was undertaken in the year 1521 at the command of Henry VIII, on the suggestion of Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester All public archives were thrown open to Polydore Vergil, who spent twelve years on the production of his History It was first published in folio, printed by Simon Grynæus, at Basel, in 1534 Two years later there was a second edition, with corrections * It was well and fairly written, though, among the contests against Rome that became loud after the time of its publication, the old-fashioned orthodoxy of a scholarly Italian gave occasion for attack The new learning had taught him to look with calm philosophy, but not yet with reforming zeal, upon the Church system in which he had been bred. He desired a married clergy, and disliked worship of images, but he was a priest of Rome He was not fair to Protestants, said some Dr Caius, writing upon the antiquities of Cambridge University, went so far as to say that Polydore Vergil, having free access to all records, burnt a waggon-load of manuscripts to prevent detection of his errors Statements of that kind serve for the evidence of feeling, not of fact Polydore Vergil's "History of England" is now valued not only for the light it throws upon the reign of Henry VII It fills a gap of seventy years with trustworthy

* It was again reprinted at Basel in 1556 and 1570, and by Ant Thysius at Leyden in 1649 and 1651

detail, and it is especially good for the times of Edward IV and Richard III

In 1526 Polydore published a treatise ("*De Prodigiis*") in which his good sense was opposed to superstitions common in his day In the course of the preface to this book he said, "Armed with the doctrine of Christ, I have confidently entered the lists with the soothsayers, wizards, and fortune-tellers, whom, together with their pernicious arts, you may now see weakened—or, rather, entirely destroyed—by reasons partly natural, partly theological" In this piece he dwelt sensibly upon the natural causes of imagined prodigies *

Other Writings

Polydore Vergil wrote also short Latin dialogues upon "Patience and its Fruit," in two books, then, giving to Patience her perfect work, he wrote upon "The Perfect Life," and upon "Truth" and "Falsehood," each in one book, also a short commentary on the Lord's Prayer —'*In Dominicam Precem Commentariolus*" The speakers in the dialogue on "Truth and Falsehood" were the author and Dr Henry Cole, who is described as Warden of New College, Oxford The piece, therefore, was not written before 1542,† when Cole was appointed to that office Polydore Vergil had also edited, with a dedication to his friend Erasmus, the Greek text of Chrysostom's comparison between a bad king with his wealth and power, and a monk obedient to the most true philosophy of Christ It was printed after a Basel edition of the "Adages" in 1541, but the dedication is dated the 3rd of August, 1528, and in it Polydore Vergil

* Polydore Vergil's "*De Prodigiis*" was twice reprinted at Basel in 1531 and 1545, was translated into French by George de la Bouthière, and published at Lyons in 1555 There was an edition of it from the Elzevir press at Amsterdam, together with the "*De Inventoribus*," in 1671 The "*De Inventoribus*" was translated into French by Belleforest (Paris 1576 and 1582)

† These were first printed at the end of the book on Prodigies in the Basel edition of 1545

tells Erasmus that he has returned lately to his Greek studies, which had been interrupted by the work upon his "History of England"

In 1550, when he had lived forty years in England, Polydore went back, in his old age, to die where he was born For the service he had done in the writing of his "History of England," he was allowed to retain the Archdeaconry of Wells and the Prebend of Nonnington He is said to have died at Urbino in some year not later than 1555

I have continued to their end the record of the work of Polydore Vergil, Linacre, and others who represent in Henry VIII's reign the survival of preceding movements I bring only to the close of the reign of Henry VII, the record of the rise of men who, in Henry VIII's time, show how those movements—like forces of physical nature that turn motion to heat, and heat to light—changed their form, and therewith changed the spirit of society

John Fisher

John Fisher, born at Beverley, in Yorkshire, about the year 1460, was the son of a rich mercer who died when his two boys—John, the elder, and Robert, the younger—were still children Their mother married again The boys were first educated by a priest of Beverley Church John showed special ability, and was sent in 1484 to Cambridge He graduated in 1488 and 1491, became a Fellow of his College, Michael House, and Master of Michael House in 1495 It was about this time that he took holy orders In 1501 he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and he served afterwards for two years as Vice-Chancellor of the University The reputation of Dr John Fisher caused Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII, to draw him into her service As her chaplain and confessor, he obtained her complete confidence, and used it, to the best of his knowledge, for the advancement of religion and learning He caused her to

found two colleges at Cambridge—Christ's, completed under his care in 1505, and St John's, finished in 1515—and also the chair still known as the Lady Margaret's Professorship of Divinity, which he himself held for a time She founded also, at his suggestion, the Lady Margaret's Preachership to strengthen a religious faith and life among the people by sermons to them in English His funeral sermon on the death of the good countess was printed by Wynken de Worde, and has been more than once reprinted In 1504, Henry VII, who trusted much in Fisher's piety and wisdom, made him, "for his great and singular virtues," Bishop of Rochester The University of Cambridge made him in the same year its Chancellor Between 1505 and 1508, Bishop Fisher was the head of Queen's College He invited Erasmus to Cambridge, offered him an appointment as Lady Margaret's Divinity Professor, and supported him in the endeavour to teach at Cambridge the Greek he had learnt at Oxford Erasmus persevered only for a few months in the endeavour to form a Greek class Failing with the Grammar of Chrysoloras, he tried Theodore Gaza's, and then left the labour to be continued by Dr Richard Croke Even at Oxford the new study of Greek was fighting its way slowly against strong opposition of two parties idlers who called themselves Trojans, and who under leaders whom they called Priam and Hector battled with the Greeks, and the timidly religious men who cried, "Beware of the Greeks, lest you be made a heretic" There was called forth, indeed, a royal declaration that no student of Greek should be molested, and there was open rebuke of some Court preachers who made bold, in the King's presence, to denounce Greek in their sermons.

It was Fisher who preached at St Paul's the funeral sermon on the death of Henry VII

John Colet,* become Doctor of Divinity at Oxford in

* "E W" vii, 33, 34

1504, was made, in May, 1505, Dean of St Paul's The death of his father in the following October gave him possession of a large private fortune, the whole of which he set aside for doing good He lived simply upon his Church income, wore a plain black gown instead of the rich robes of his office, and was the host of Erasmus when he came to London He had resigned his Vicarage of Stepney a month before his father's death, and had resigned some time earlier his Prebend of St Martin's le Grand As Dean of St Paul's, John Colet made inquiry into Scripture an essential part of the Cathedral service, he preached generally in exposition of St Paul's Epistles, his favourite study He was handsome, earnest, eloquent, outspoken against corrupt lives of the clerg , against the confessional, image-worship, belief in purgatory, and thoughtless repetition of fixed quantities of prayer The Bishop of London would have brought him into trouble as a heretic if he had not been protected by Archbishop Warham

John Colet

Thomas Wolsey was born in 1471, the son of a well-todo butcher at Ipswich From Ipswich Grammar School he went to Magdalen College, Oxford, and there took his B A degree so early that he was called the Boy Bachelor He became Fellow of Magdalen, then Master of Magdalen School, where three sons of the Marquis of Dorset were among his pupils When the sons went home for their Christmas holidays the master was invited with them, and he was so much liked that, in 1500, the marquis gave him the Rectory of Lymington, in Somersetshire Wolsey then obtained the post of chaplain to Henry Dean, Morton's successor in the Archbishopric of Canterbury, the prelate who, in November, 1501, married the Princess Katherine of Aragon to young Arthur, Prince of Wales, four months before the boy's death Dr Dean was Archbishop for only two years, and died in February, 1503, not long after Wolsey had become

Thomas Wolsey

his chaplain. Wolsey next became one of the chaplains to an old knight, Sir John Nephant, Governor of Calais, and managed all his affairs for him so well that when Sir John was, at his own request, called home, he specially commended Wolsey to the notice of the King, and procured for him the post of a Court chaplain. Then Wolsey made friends at Court, obtained employment on a foreign service, and performed his duty with a rare despatch. The King rewarded him, in 1508, with the Deanery of Lincoln.

Songs of the People

Meanwhile the people had their songs and stories by the fireside, on the green, and at the Whitsun ales. Descendants, in this office, of the scóp and gleeman, using the rustic crowd or fiddle for a gleebeam, preserved the memory of Chevy Chase and multiplied the tales of Robin Hood.*

Wynken de Worde, born in Lorraine, came to England with Caxton, and after Caxton's death, in or about the year 1491, succeeded him in his printing office, and styled himself printer to Margaret, Countess of Richmond. He settled afterwards in Fleet Street, and lived until 1534. One of Wynken de Worde's earliest publications was a collection of Robin Hood ballads into a continuous set, called "A Lytel Geste of Robyn Hode." In "The Vision of Piers Plowman," Robin Hood is named as one who was already, in the second half of the fourteenth century, a hero of popular song. Sloth there says—

> "I kan noght parfitly my Paternoster,
> As the priest it syngeth;
> But I kan rymes of Robyn Hood,
> And Randolph, Erl of Chestre."

We learn also from the "Paston Letters" that in Edward IV.'s time Robin Hood was a hero of one of the popular mummeries. So he remained. A sermon of

* "E. W." iii. 246—248.

Latimer's shows with much emphasis the popularity of country sports on a Robin Hood's Day in the time of Edward VI There are manuscripts also of the ballads of "Robin Hood and the Potter" and "Robin Hood and the Monk," not older than the last years of the fifteenth century

Stephen Hawes

English Court Poetry of Henry VII's time is represented by Stephen Hawes, of whose life no more is known than is told by Anthony à Wood,* who supposes him to be of the Suffolk family of the Hawes of Hawes in the Bushes, says that he was instructed in all such literature as Oxford could in his time afford, but that there was no register to show whether he took a degree He travelled afterwards through England, Scotland, and France, and "visiting the receptacles of good letters, did much advance the foundation of literature that he had laid at the University, so that, after his return, he being esteemed a complete gentleman, a master of several languages, especially of the French, and, above all, for his most excellent vein in poetry, he was received into the Court of King Henry VII" The King, after a time, made him one of the Grooms of his Chamber, and highly esteemed him "for his facetious discourse and prodigious memory, which last did evidently appear in this, that he could repeat by heart most of our English poets, especially John Lydgate, monk of Bury, whom he made equal in some respects with Geoffrey Chaucer"

In support of this record, evidence is found that, in 1502, Stephen Hawes received, upon the death of Henry VII's Queen, four yards of black cloth for mourning, but, in 1509, he was not among those who received black cloth for mourning on the death of King Henry himself He had received ten shillings from the King's private purse "for a ballet that he gave to the Kinges grace" He wrote verses to welcome Henry VIII to the throne, and on the

* "Athenæ Oxonienses," ed 1691, vol. 1, col 5.

6th of January, 1521, there was among the Household Accounts of Henry VIII an "Item, to Mr Hawse for his play vj[li] xiij[s] iiij[d]" The will of a Stephen Hawes, most likely the poet, whose property was in Aldborough, and who left it to his wife, Katherine, was proved in the Archdeaconry Court of Suffolk on the 16th of January, 1523 The poet was referred to as dead in a book published in 1530 *

"The Pastime of Pleasure," one of the two chief poems of Stephen Hawes, and some other pieces by him, were printed by Wynken de Worde at the time of the change of reign in 1509 One of the pieces was "A Joyfull Medytacyon to All England," upon the accession of King Henry VIII, another was "The Conversyon of Swerers," to which we shall presently return Hawes's two chief poems, "The Pastime of Pleasure," and a somewhat later poem, "The Exemple of Vertue," which was first printed by Wynken de Worde about 1512, have a distinct interest They show the manner of the gradual advance, from allegories based upon the "Roman de la Rose," in the direction of "The Faerie Queene" We find his love-poetry referred to as that of "Young Stephen Hawes," and what little we know of his early life allows us to think that in 1505–6, the twenty-first year of the reign of Henry VII, in which Wynken de Worde's edition tells us that he wrote "The Pastime of Pleasure," his age was not yet thirty, that he wrote little, if anything, after the age of thirty-five, spent his last years quietly at home in Suffolk, and died when he was about forty-six years old As a poet, Stephen Hawes in the opening of "The Pastime of Pleasure" especially looks up to Lydgate as his master He wrote in the Troilus verse which Chaucer had given to English literature as a measure

* Thomas Felde's "Conversation between a Lover and a Jay" He is referred to as "Young Stephen Hawes," and as having "treated of love so clerkly and so well"

of its own, to take the place of Italian *ottave rime* In his treatment of allegory, Hawes was more influenced by the French than by the Italian poets How far he himself failed in the music of his lines, how far their music has been destroyed by errors of the scribe and of the printer, cannot be determined Sometimes a stanza runs clear music from first to last, sometimes with help of final *e* used at discretion, adaptation of accent, slurring one syllable here on good phonetic grounds, and creating there another with a well-rolled *r*, or self-sufficient *y*, lame lines can be miraculously healed, but, still, there remains, especially in Wynken de Worde's printing of "The Exemple of Vertue," much defect to be ascribed to copyist and press reader, and let us say also to the poet's ear Other parts of a true poet, in the care spent mainly on essentials of life, in choice and treatment of his fable, Stephen Hawes had, but if he wrote his lines as they are printed, he was not skilled in the mechanism of his art He was held by the ears when he was dipped in Helicon The whole conception of "The Pastime of Pleasure" is a poet's allegory of the course of life

The "History of Graund Amoure and La Bel Pucell, called The Pastime of Pleasure, Conteyning the Knowledge of the Seven Sciences and the Course of Man's Life in this World"

GRAUND AMOURE passed through the fair meadow of Youth, and then came to the choice between two highways of life, the way of Contemplation—that was life in a religious order—and the way of Active Life He took the way of Active Life, met Fame with her two greyhounds, Grace and Governaunce, who told him of La Bel Pucell, in whom Hawes represented the true aim of life, only attainable through many labours Then he first visited the Tower of Doctrine, and was introduced to her seven daughters These were the seven sciences, arranged of old into three, Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, forming what was called the "Trivium," and four, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, Astronomy, which formed the "Quadrivium" When, in his introduction to these seven daughters of Doctrine, Graund Amoure had advanced to Music, he found her playing on an organ in her tower,

and it was then that he first saw his ideal, La Bel Pucell He told his love to her, and danced with her to sweet harmony This means that the youth who has advanced far enough in the pursuit of knowledge to have ears for the grand harmonies of life, is for a time brought face to face with the bright ideal to be sought through years of forward battle

La Bel Pucell went to her distant home, and Graund Amoure, after receiving counsel from Geometry and Astronomy, proceeded to the Castle of Chivalry, prayed in the Temple of Mars, within which was Fortune at her wheel, and on his way to the Temple of Venus met Godfrey Gobilive, who spoke ill of women This part is in couplets They went to the Temple of Venus, but Godfrey was overtaken by a lady named Correction, with a knotted whip, who said that he was False Report, escaped in disguise from his prison in the Tower of Chastity To that Tower the lady Correction introduced Graund Amoure As the adventurer proceeded on his way he fought a giant with three heads, named Falsehood, Imagination, Perjury, and cut his heads off with the sword Claraprudence Then he proceeded through other adventures, which carried on the allegory of steadfast endeavour till Graund Amoure saw the stately palace of La Bel Pucell upon an island beyond a stormy ocean After the water has been crossed, there was still to be quelled a monster against which Graund Amoure could only defend himself by anointing his sword with the ointment of Pallas The last victory achieved, Graund Amoure was received into the palace by Peace, Mercy, Justice, Reason, Grace, and Memory, and he was married next morning to La Bel Pucell by Lex Ecclesiæ (Law of the Church) After his happy years with her, Old Age came one day into Graund Amoure's chamber, and struck him on the breast, Policy and Avarice came next Graund Amoure became eager to heap up riches Death warned him that these must be left After the warning, Contrition and Conscience came to him before he died Mercy and Charity then buried him Fame wrote his epitaph Time and Eternity pronounced the final exhortation of the poem

Allegorical poetry of this kind, when put into dialogue and spoken by persons dressed to represent the character of Vice or Virtue in the story, became the Morality Play, also popular in Henry VII's time, of which we shall have presently to speak Poem and play differ only—one being told, the other acted—in the method of expressing the same

form of thought In Literature they are own brothers, alike in ancestry

Attention is due also in this poem to the manner of the use of Chaucer's Riding Rhyme, those couplets, framed for ease, that told how the Pilgrims rode to Canterbury In later years it will come to us from France stiff-jointed, and be known as the heroic couplet until it regains a little of its free step in its native air In Henry VII 's time, Chaucer's stanza was the heroic measure of the English poets, and when Stephen Hawes brought on the scene Godfrey Gobilive, the mean slanderer of women, because he would not let him speak heroically, Hawes changed the measure to the Riding Rhyme Godfrey talks thus —

> " I did once woo an oldé maiden rich
> A foulé thief, an oldé withered witch,
> 'Fairé maid,' I said, 'willé ye me have?'
> 'Nay, sir,* so God me keep and save!
> For you are evil favoured and also ugly,
> I am the worse to see your visnamy,'
> Yet was she fouler many hundredfold
> Than I myself, as ye may well behold "

In his other chief poem,

The Example of Virtue,

Stephen Hawes first remembers in a Prologue that the poets of old contrived books for the profit of humanity, and he, simple and rude, is very blind in the poet's art, and is, therefore, laying it all aside, yet will write something now to fulfil

> " Saynt Powlés wordés and true sentement,
> All that is written is to our document"—

to our instruction Then, before he begins, Stephen Hawes invokes the three who were in his time regarded as first masters of English poetry—

* Na-y sirrah,

> "O prudent Gower, in langagé pure,
> Without corrupcyon most facundyous,
> O noble Chawser, euer moost sure,
> Of frutfull sentence ryght delycious,
> O vertuous Lydgat moche sentencyous,
> Vnto you allé I do me excuse
> Though I your connynge now do vse"

The poem, like its Prologue, is in Chaucer stanza In September, astrologically signified, the poet was gone to bed for the night when Morpheus invited him to walk in a fair meadow among trees and flowers, where he met with a fair lady of middle stature, in a dress set with pure pearls When he asked her name, she said it was Discretion, whose companionship it was great pity for Youth to lack If he would be ruled by her, she would lead him to a blameless joy, and she added a few counsels to that end Here is again the flowery plain of Youth, from which the poem proceeds to a new allegory of the course of life The poet then went to a haven-side, where he took ship with Discretion across the troubled waters of Vainglory The ship had Good Comfort for its captain, and Fair Passport for its steersman So ends Capitulum I The second of the fourteen chapters of the story tells how the ship brought Youth and Discretion to an island, where precious stones lay on the sands, diamonds grew on the rocks, the earth, glistening with gold, bore flowers of sweet odour Four ladies rule over this island—Dame Nature, shaper of all living things, Dame Fortune, tuner of the strings of life, Dame Courage, forming men for praise and wealth, Dame Wisdom, sister to Discretion, ever inclining to benignity, and meddling not with fraud and subtilty She maketh many noble clerks, and ruleth them in all their works These four dwell together in a fair castle by a deep river, are unmatched in skill, and questioning among one another which shall have prominence a question that they wait for Justice to decide

In the third chapter, we learn how Discretion led the youth by a frequented path to a valley, in which a castle shone with towers of adamant and golden vanes, and roebucks ran under the boughs of trees, with hunters far behind Youth and Discretion were admitted by Humility into the castle ward, and passed into the hall, hung with arras showing the story of Tiberius, who asked the prudent Losethus why he kept the same servants so long about him, and was answered with a parable He who had swept away the flies which settled upon the wounds of one who slept, was told when the sleeper awakened that he had not given the comfort he intended, for he had driven away flies

that were full and quiet, to make room for the hungry flies "that will me bite ten times more grievously" At the upper end of the great hall sat Fortune, richly jewelled, with the Nine Worthies about her, among whom she turned her wheel, and sometimes frowning, sometimes smiling, gave great falls to many who had risen high upon it See, said Discretion to the youth, here is no stableness

[Cap IV] Then they went to the habitude of Dame Courage (Hardynes), who sate in coat armour on a chair of turquoise, with flowers strewn around Her shield bore a lion rampant on a field of azure Nine Queens were about her—Asia, Saba, Hippolyta, Hecuba, Europa, Juno, Penthesilea, Helen, Polyxena See, said Discretion to the youth, the courage of all these yielded to Death

[Cap V] Then they went to the dwelling place of Dame Sapience—Wisdom—built in the place of soothfastness without the taste of worldly bitterness She was so fair to look on that, were Virtue dead, in her it should revive again, "She was so gentle, and without disdain" Discretion bade Youth wait till she had spoken with her sister, who said, "Welcome, Discretin, my sister dear Where have ye been?" "With Youth," she answered, "and I bring him here For my sake, take him into your train, and he shall do you goodly service" For her sister's sake, Wisdom, Sapience, or Prudence took Youth into her service, with counsel and command as to his duties, and with many a "Wo worth" to the doers of false deeds Youth remained long under the teaching of Dame Sapience, in whose service Discretion bade him be at no time slack

[Cap VI] Then Discretion led Youth to the glorious mansion of Dame Nature in a tower roofed with sunbeams When Youth admired her loveliness, Discretion led him to a place whence he could see her back, where a doleful image of Death quenched all the beauty Then Discretion led Youth into a fair chamber wrought with fine geometry, where they were alone till Justice entered and went up to her high seat Then Nature, Fortune, Courage, and Wisdom came before Justice, each to plead for the pre eminence

[Cap VII] Said Courage Without me man cannot rise Three things are needful to a State—sword, law, and trade Fear of the sword protects the other two I gave to Hercules his power, to Hector, and to David when he slew Goliath in his youth I gave their power and their praise to Cæsar, Arthur, Charlemagne When a man seeks praise and honour, I give the chief help, and ask of Justice the pre-eminence

Not so, said Wisdom, for without me Courage may not avail. Foolhardiness breaks peace Cæsar was wise as bold, and owed his

power chiefly to his prudence I, Wisdom, lead to Heaven, show the way to peace by Christ Courage is not the first thing even for a knight, six things are better Prudence first, then he must be loyal to his sovereign, liberal to the common, strong to defend the right and amend wrong, merciful in all his deeds, and an almsgiver to the poor I, Wisdom, am of the king's council, and I ask pre eminence,

> " For I'm most profitáble unto man,
> And ever have been since the world began "

Then Fortune said What can ye either do, Courage or Wisdom, without my good help? I rule men's lives All wit is labour lost if I oppose Hercules, Hector, were idolators, and prayed to Fortune Why plead at length, following Wisdom's way? Justice, I am the first

But Nature then said, Nay, without me man is dead and turned to clay Though a man wanted Fortune, Wisdom, Courage, still he lives on until my power ends

> " What were the world if I were not?
> It were soon done as I well wot "

Then Justice put aside the controversy, and bade all four of them agree to unite in jurisdiction over the happiness of Man, and succour him with loving heart and true affection To this they all agreed, and so the hearing ended, after which Justice retired into her close chamber called Conscience

[Cap VIII] Dame Wisdom remained behind with Discretion, and suggested that Youth should be married to a lady of marvellous beauty, daughter to a king Her name was Cleanness—Purity But Youth could only win her if endued by Wisdom with the power to eschew all frailty and vainglory, and if he had Discretion to lead him on the way

[Cap IX] Youth went then with Discretion out of the Castle into a green where birds were making melody, and crossed a river, beyond which was a long wide meadow And beyond the meadow was a wilderness, and it was dark, for the sun had set and a black cloud shrouded the moon, which was horned and entered in the sign of Capricorn Among thorns and wild beasts, they came to a pleasant arbour where was a fresh lady riding on a goat, who tempted Youth now passing through the perils and the darkness of the world Discretion warned the Youth, who had himself no will to lust, but kept his mind on fair Dame Cleanness Next they met an old and amiable lady seated in a castle on an elephant's back She held a gold cup set with pearls

She said she was the Lady of Richesse, the Queen of Wealth and Worldly Glory She invited Youth to serve her, and be brought to worship but he had no mind to hunt in the Paik of Pride, who is a deadly foe to Cleanness He will abide with Discretion, by whose help he shall have possession of a heavenly kingdom As they went on, Discretion told him what would have befallen him if he had yielded to the temptation of those two ladies Sensuality and Pride They went on until Youth found that they were lost in a great maze, walking with doubt, now here, now there, now round about "Now," said Discretion, "ye are in the business of worldly fashion", and they wandered long in it till they met the glorious lady, Sapience She would show him the right way to Dame Cleanness "Who had thought to find you here!" said Youth "Yes," she replied, "I have been near you often, and have been the cause of your good guidance."

[Cap X] With Wisdom and Discretion for guides, the poet came to a river that had on the other side a royal castle, only to be reached over the water by a little bridge not half so broad as a house ridge Turning his eyes aside, he saw Dame Cleanness taking the air by the river bank He called to her, desired to come to her She told him that there was no way save by the bridge over the troublous water "That," said Sapience, "will not hinder him" "Then let him come," said Cleanness, "and be you his guide, with Dame Discretion on the other side, to hold him up from falling" By help of those guides he crossed the bridge, and saw a place where it was written none might go over unless he were pure, and stedfast in his faith in God The kingdom thus reached was the kingdom of Great Grace, where Cleanness lived with her father, the King of Love The King of Love was girt with two great willows, and was blind He had two great wings, a naked body, a dart in his right hand, a torch in his left, a bottle hung about his neck, and he had one leg armed, one naked Wisdom explained that love was girdled with stability, winged as flying to the person loved, naked as desiring not the outside accidents, with one leg armed to defend right and amend the wrong, the other naked to betoken charity

[Cap XI] Then the poet was brought by Sapience before that mighty lord, and was told that, to win Cleanness, he must discomfit a dragon with three heads who lay in a foul black marsh at the foot of the way up a fair hill that leads to Heaven The three heads of the dragon were the World, the Flesh, and the Devil Wisdom armed the combatant with the whole armour of God, as set forth in St Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians (vi 13-17) The Chaucer stanza changes into couplets for the following description of it—

" This is the armure for the soule
That in his epystole wrote saynt Poule,
Good Hope thy legge harneys shall be
The habergyn of ryghtwysnes gyrde with chastyte
Thy plackarde of besynes with braunches of almes dede,
Thy shelde of beleue and mekenes for the hede,
Thy swerde shall be, the to defend,
The Worde of God the Deuyll to blende "

And this will be the armour afterwards of Spenser's Red Cross Knight, who overcomes the dragon Stephen Hawes's combatant, after a hard fight, obtains the victory, I do not now call him Youth, because he has spent some time among the temptations of life and in the maze of worldly business Wherefore the poet tells us that at the time of his marriage with Dame Cleanness, he has reached the age of sixty

[Cap XII] After the victory over the dragon, the good knight returned to the Castle of Great Grace, where Love was King, and was met there by Dame Perseverance, Faith, Charity, Prayer, Lowliness, with the bride, Cleanness, who had Dame Grace to bear up her train Troth was then plighted, and Cleanness led her knight before her father, who now gave him the name he had won, VIRTUE Virtue and Cleanness were to be married in three days Virtue slept in a chamber where a little dog lay, that barked if any came near who would make a fray with Conscience In the morning he rose and called to him Dame Sapience, and urged marriage without delay to Cleanness, whom he found among her flowers, and who gave him the flower Margarite,

" Whiche is a flour ryght swete and precyous,
Indued with beauté and moche vertuous "

He kissed the daisy, and set it near his heart, and when Virtue praised the delights of the garden of Cleanness, she said that she had another garden, which would belong to them both by inheritance, but that was celestial They went then to the King of Love, who said they should be wedded on that day

[Cap XIII] So they went into a glorious chapel roofed with rubies and emeralds, where Virtue saw the Ark of God and Moses' rod, and Saint Austin, who brought Christianity into England, and the Twelve Apostles, and Saint Peter, in a rich cope, on the right of the high altar Then there gathered around Virtue and Cleanness the ladies Prayer, Charity, Penitence, Humility, Faith, Righteousness, Peace, Mercy, and Contrition Then came Bede and Saint Gregory,

with Saint Ambrose, good protector of our faith Then came the King of Love, led now by Argus with his hundred eyes Who loveth Argus will devise or begin nothing unless he see good end There came also Saint Jerome, with four bishops, who waited on him , and Saint Jerome began the wedding ceremony with an address to the King of Love Virtue and Cleanness were arrayed in robes of silver, given them by Dame Virginity Saint Jerome spoke the marriage service, and angels came down from high Heaven—Michael, Gabriel, and the hierarchy—

> " To help saynt Peter the masses to synge,
> The organs went and the bellys dyd rynge "

After the marriage there was a dinner, to which the bride was led by Saint Edmund, King and Martyr, and Saint Edward, King and Confessor Two angels knelt to hold each corner of the tablecloth, and Saint Peter served all of the body of our Lord, a feast most sweet and precious to the soul Then Virtue kissed his wife, and, being sixty years old, grown a little weary of the world, he asked that he might see her more glorious garden, and was to be taken to it by the angel Raphael and a crowd of martyrs and confessors He was shown first the pains of Hell and the abode of those who had yielded to the lures of Sensuality and Pride

[Cap XIV] Then he returned to go with the King of Love, with his wife, with the whole fair company, through the air, among the planets and the stars, into the joy of Heaven, to be followed by all who love Jesus truly And now God keep King Henry and his mother, and advance the union of the White Rose with the Red in all Cleanness and Virtue, and increase in rest and peace Prince Henry, the second treasure of the land Then the poet ends with invocation of the great saints in his art, Gower, Chaucer, Lydgate, and since they cannot help his rudeness, he will pray only to God to distil His dew upon the dull rude brain, "and to enlumyn me with His sapyence " *

This analysis is made from the yet unpublished sheets of Professor Arber's edition of the poem, a transcript from the copy of Wynken de Worde's edition, in the Pepysian Library at Oxford, which has not until now been reprinted Professor Arber's edition will include "The Conversion of Swearers" and the "Joyful Meditation on the Coronation of Henry VIII " Publication has been delayed by engrossing labour on another undertaking which will be among the chief of Professor Arber's many and great aids to the real study of English Literature, now and hereafter

The close shows that this piece, though printed later, was written in the reign of Henry VII in some one of its last seven years after the death of Prince Arthur in 1502 In Stephen Hawes's poem of "The Convercyon of Swerers," also in Chaucer stanza (except one passage of ingenuity in rhyme), Christ is supposed to plead with men for whom He suffered pains of death, against their daily rending of His tender body

"The Conversion of Swearers"

> "By cruell othes now vpon every side
> About the worlde launcing my woundés wide"

The passage of ingenious rhyme is formed of triplets growing gradually from one-syllabled lines to six syllabled, and then as gradually diminishing to one-syllabled again Each triplet has a fourth line like-syllabled, and the fourth lines rhyme together in pairs, thus —

> See
> me
> be
>   kind,
> Again
> my pain
> retain
>   in mind,
> My sweet blood
> on the rood
> did thee good
>   my brother
> My face right red,
> Mine armés spread,
> My woundes bled,
>   think none other
> Behold then my side—

and so forth It is an early example in our literature of some tricks in verse that afterwards grew popular

Stephen Hawes in his "Joyful Meditation to all England

on the Coronation of our Most Natural Sovereign, the Lord King Henry VIII," offers his little poem with a Prologue, in which again he honours Lydgate, and says that he himself never dwelt near the laurel by the well of Helicon He celebrates the marriage with the Princess Katherine, admits the avarice of Henry VII., but justifies it in him by good aim and end He prays for the late King's soul, calls down the good influences of the planets each in turn, calls upon God to save our Sovereign from all kinds of woe, calls on the Church to rejoice in a King who will increase its liberties, calls on the King, who looks to God, to be bold and glad in the concord that shall bind him to his people, and in God's power to defend the right He invokes the grace of God upon Queen Katherine and the Lady Mary, the King's sister He bids the King's officers remember the ill end of extortion, and bids "England be true and lové well eche other" Let us obey our King and the omnipotent God, Ruler of the World, and He, the Sender of all good, will give us grace to keep His commandments

"Joyful Meditation on the Coronation of Henry VIII"

Meanwhile, Italian fine gentlemen had begun to affect far-fetched conceits and ingenuities of speech Lorenzo de' Medici, who set forth Platonism in his *Altercazione*, wrote love-sonnets and canzoni in a style that would tell how the rays of love from the eyes of his lady penetrated, through his eyes, the shadow of his heart, like a ray of sun entering the dark beehive by its fissure, and how then, as the hive wakes, the bees fly, full of new cares, hither and thither in the forest, sip at flowers, fly out, return laden with odorous spoil, sting those who are seen idle—so the spirits stir in his heart, fly out to seek the light, &c &c But in those days Florence had other poets Luigi Pulci,* born in 1432, lived until 1490, cleverest of three verse-writing brothers—Luigi, Bernardo, and Luca—

Poets in Italy

* "E W" Intr i 31

wrote in the fashionable strain of the flowing of the river Lora in the Apennines into the Severus, in his poem of "The Dryad of Love" The nymph Lora was loved by the satyr Severus Diana changed him to a stag, then hunted him, and changed him into a river, but the loving nymph, changed also into a stream, ran to her union with him Luigi Pulci wrote also in a far different vein Vasco de Lobeira,* a Portuguese of Chaucer's time, who had been knighted on the battle-field by the King John to whom John of Gaunt married his daughter Philippa, died in 1403, and had written towards the close of the fourteenth century his "Amadis of Gaul," a long prose romance of original invention, which, about 1503, was turned into Spanish by Garcia Ordoñes de Montalvo, and established in Spain a new form of knightly prose romance

"Amadis" itself had and deserved more popularity than most of its successors But impulse from Spain quickened development in Italy of chivalrous romance, and caused Luigi Pulci to produce, in octave rhyme, a prelude of Italian Charlemagne poetry in the irreligious and half-mocking "Morgante Maggiore," of which the first canto has been translated into English by Lord Byron Then it was also that in Florence the pastoral strain, of which Boccaccio, in his "Admetus," sounded the first note, was taken up by Agnolo of Monte Pulciano Agnolo, called Politianus—Poliziano—was a marvellous young man of twenty when Caxton finished the printing of his "Game and Play of Chess" He was born in 1454, and had been educated at the expense of Cosmo de' Medici He studied Greek under Andronicus of Thessalonica, Plato under Marsilius Ficinus, Aristotle under Argyropoulos, he became professor of Latin and Greek at Florence, and was sought as a teacher even by the pupils of Chalcondylas, for he was a poet as well as scholar, and could put true life into his teaching He was

* "E W" vi 82

but forty when he died, and among his poems he has left us the pastoral tale of Orpheus, his "Orfeo," in *terza rima*, the first pastoral in modern literature with a story in it Niccolò da Correggio called his "Cefalo," in octave rhyme, recited at Ferrara in 1486, also a story—"Favola"—and in the following years others appeared as rustic comedies, eclogues, or pastoral eclogues When long, they were divided into acts And here we are at the source of the taste for pastoral poetry which we shall find after some years coming by way of France to England

Lorenzo de' Medici died in 1492 During the latter years of his rule, Matteo Maria Boiardo, Count of Scandiano and Governor of Reggio, wrote that poem of "Orlando Innamorato" (Orlando Enamoured) which is of most interest for its relation to the later work of Ariosto Boiardo died, sixty years old, in 1494, leaving his poem unfinished in his own opinion, and by several cantos more than finished in the opinion of others This poem dealt more seriously, if less cleverly, than Pulci's "Morgante" with the Charlemagne romance Boiardo set up Charlemagne's nephew Roland, or Orlando, who was also Pulci's hero, as true knight enamoured of a fascinat ng Angelica, brought from the far East to sow dissension among the Christians with whom infidel hosts were contending Boiardo was succeeded in his command of the fortress of Reggio by Ariosto the father, and in his conduct of the story of Orlando by Ariosto the son, who took up the tale where Boiardo ought to have dropped it, not where he actually did leave off

John Skelton is the English poet of chief mark whose name is associated with the reign of Henry VII He was born either in Cumberland or Norfolk, and not before the year 1460, educated at Cambridge, where he appears to have taken his degree of M A in 1484, and to have written a poem "On the Death

John Skelton

of King Edward IV " Like one of the old metrical tragedies of men fallen from high estate, it tells—the dead King speaking—how the days of power, of wealth wrung from the commonalty, of costly works under a rule pleasing to some, to others displeasing, are at an end—

> " Mercy I ask of my misdoing
> What availeth it, friends, to be my foe,
> Sith I cannot resist nor amend your complaining?
> *Quia, ecce, nunc in pulvere dormio* "

The last line, suggesting royal pomp asleep in dust, is the refrain to every stanza In 1489 Skelton wrote, in Chaucer stanza, an "Elegy upon the Death of the Earl of Northumberland," who was killed by an insurgent populace in Yorkshire In the following year, 1490, Caxton spoke of John Skelton, in the preface to his "Eneydos,"* as "Mayster John Skelton, late created poete laureate" in the University of Oxford Caxton prayed that Skelton, who had translated Cicero's Letters and Diodorus Siculus and divers other works from Latin into English, would correct any mistakes he found Of Skelton's translations, and of Skelton himself—then about thirty years old—Caxton wrote in the same preface to "The Boke of Eneydos, compyled by Vyrgyle," that he had translated from the Latin, "not in rude and olde langage, but in polysshed and ornate termes craftely, as he that hath redde Vyrgyle, Ovyde, Tullye, and all the other noble poets and oratours, to me unknowen And also he hath redde the nine muses, and understande theyr musicalle scyences, and to whom of theym eche scyence is appropred I suppose he hath dronken of Elycon's well "

The degree of Poet Laureate was then a recognised degree in grammar and rhetoric with versification A wreath of laurel was presented to each new "Poeta

"E W" vi 335

laureatus ," and if this graduated grammarian obtained also a licence to teach boys, he was publicly presented in the Convocation House with a rod and ferule If he served a King, he might call himself the King's humble Poet Laureate , as John Kay, of whom no verse remains, was, as far as we know, first to do, in calling himself Poet Laureate to Edward IV Before obtaining this degree the candidate would be required to write a hundred Latin verses on the glory of the University, or some other accepted subject

John Skelton, Poet Laureate of Oxford in 1493, and also of Louvain, was admitted to the same title at Cambridge eleven years later He had written a poem, now lost, on the creation of Prince Arthur, Henry VII 's eldest son, as Prince of Wales, in 1489 , and he wrote Latin verses, also lost, on the creation of the infant Prince Henry as Duke of York, in 1494 Skelton was in favour with Henry VII , and also with that King's mother, Margaret, Countess of Richmond, and of Derby by her second marriage The Lady Margaret is remembered as a patroness of learning In 1498 Skelton took holy orders, and at this time he was tutor to Prince Henry , Bernard André, Henry VII 's Poet Laureate, being tutor to Prince Arthur As John Skelton himself afterwards wrote—

> " The honor of Englond I lernyd to spelle
> In dygnite roialle that doth excelle
> *   *   *   *   *   *   *
> It plesyth that noble prince royâlle
> Me as hys master for to calle
> In his lernyng primordialle "

He produced for his pupil a treatise, now lost, called the *Speculum Principis*, the " Mirror of a Prince " At the end of the century, when Prince Henry was nine years old, Erasmus, in dedicating to the boy a Latin ode in " Praise of Britain, King Henry VII , and the Royal Children," congratulated him on being housed with Skelton, a special

light and ornament of British literature ("unum Britannicarum literarum lumen et decus"), who could not only kindle his desire for study, but secure its consummation In the ode itself Erasmus again spoke of Skelton as Prince Henry's guide to the sacred sources of learning

It may have been during the latter part of Henry VII 's reign that Skelton produced his poem of

The Bowge of Court

It was an allegorical court poem against court follies and vices, and the Ship in it was perhaps built after the suggestion of Sebastian Brant, who had but lately launched his famous "Narrenschiff" Bowge is the French *bouche* (the mouth), and bowge of court was the old technical name for the right to feed at a king's table Skelton here told, in Chaucer stanza, how in autumn he thought of the craft of old poets who

> "Under as coverte termés as could be
> Can touche a trouth, and cloke it subtylly
> With fresshe utteraunce full sentencyously"

Weary with much thinking, he slept at the port of Harwich, in mine host's house, called "Power's Quay," and it seemed to him that he saw sail into harbour a goodly ship, which cast anchor, and was boarded by traders, who found royal merchandise in her The poet also went on board, where he found no acquaintance, and there was much noise, until one commanded all to hold their peace, and said that the ship was the *Bowge of Court*, owned by the Dame Saunce-pere (Peerless), that her merchandise was called Favour, and who would have it must pay dear Then there was a press to see the fair lady, who sat enthroned Danger was her chief gentlewoman, and taunted the poet for being over-bold in pressing forward Danger asked him his name, and he said it was Dread Why did he come? Forsooth, to buy some of her ware Danger then looked on him disdainfully, but another gentlewoman, named Desire, came to him and said, "Brother, be bold Press forward, and speak without any dread Who spares to speak will spare to speed" He was without friends, he said, and poor Desire gave him a jewel called "bonne aventure" With that he could thrive, but, above all things, he must be careful to make a friend of Fortune, by whom the ship was steered Merchants then thronged, suing to Fortune for her friendship What would they have? "And we asked favour, and favour she us gave" Thus ended

the prologue Then Dread told how the sail was up, and Fortune ruled the helm Favour they had, but under honey oft lies bitter gall There were seven subtle persons in the ship—.

> "The first was Favell, full of flatery,
> With fables false that well coude fayne a tale,
> The seconde was Suspecte, which that dayly
> Mysdempte eche man, with face deedly and pale,
> And Harry Hafter, that well coude picke a male,
> With other foure of theyr affynite,
> Dysdayne, Ryotte, Dyssymuler, Subtylte"

Harry Hafter in that stanza derives his name from the old English *hæftan* (to lay fast hold of anything) These Seven Sins of the Court had for their friend Fortune, who often danced with them, but they had no love for the new-comer, Dread Favell cloaked his ill will with sugared speech Dread thanked him, and was then addressed in turn by the other vices, each in his own fashion, and at last Dread, the poet, was about to jump out of the ship to avoid being slain, when he awoke, "caught penne and ynke, and wrote this lytyll boke"

But Skelton's fame does not rest upon good thought put into this conventional disguise He felt with the people, and in the reign of Henry VIII we shall find him speaking with them, and for them, by putting bold words of his own upon the life of his own day into a form of verse borrowed from nobody This form of verse, which has been called Skeltonical, appeared in the delicately playful "Boke of Phyllyp Sparowe," the lament of a simple hearted maid, Jane Scrope, one of the young ladies who were being educated by the Black Nuns at Carow, near Norwich Her grief was for Philip, her pet sparrow, killed by a cat The lament ended with a Latin epitaph to the bird, and it was followed by dainty commendations of its mistress This poem—suggested, no doubt, by the sparrow of Catullus—was written by Skelton before the end of 1508, for it is included among follies at the end of Barclay's "Ship of Fools"

The "Boke of Philip Sparrow"

CHAPTER IV

ALEXANDER BARCLAY AND "THE SHIP OF FOOLS"—ECLOGUE

ALEXANDER BARCLAY is a link between the North and South He was, by residence, almost an Englishman, and some have thought that he was altogether English It has been suggested that he was born in Devonshire, because his first preferment was at St Mary Ottery But writers of his own time described him as a Scot,* with some occasional uncertainty, due to the fact that he came early to England He was born about the year 1474 He speaks very distinctly of having lived at Croydon in his youth,† and he probably took

Alexander Barclay

* Bale, in his *Summarium* of British writers, published in 1548, called him "Scotus, rhetor ac poeta insignis" Holinshed called him a Scot Dr William Bullein, in a "Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence" (1564), said that he was "born beyond the cold river of Tweed" Ritson, and Mr David Irving, in his "History of Scottish Poetry," considered him to be a Scot by birth Both Christian and surname are Scottish It is also pointed out by Mr T H Jamieson, to whose study of Barclay in his valuable edition of Barclay's translation of "The Ship of Fools" (2 vols 4to, Edinburgh, 1874) I am much indebted, that the praise of James IV of Scotland, introduced into "The Ship of Fools," could only have been written by a man of Scottish family Again, though his vocabulary is much Anglicised, there are Scotch words in it that an Englishman would hardly have used

† In his first Eclogue—"While I in youth in Croidon town did dwell"

the degree of Bachelor of Arts at Oxford or Cambridge, although there is no clear record of his residence to be found in either of those Universities He never mentions Oxford in his writings, but of Cambridge he tells in his first Eclogue what "once in Cambridge I heard a scholar say" He speaks also of Trumpington as a place he has seen His having obtained the degree of B A is inferred only from the title of "Sir" prefixed to his name as a translator of Sallust In his will he styled himself Doctor of Divinity It is certain that he travelled abroad, in France and Italy, and he may have graduated in a foreign University Among towns that he has seen he names in his first Eclogue Berwick, Durham, Grantham, Bristol, Totnes and Exeter in the West, Stow-in-the-Wold in the East, and Dover in the South, with Rouen, Paris, and Florence, over sea Upon his return to England, Barclay published anonymously his first work, a translation into Chaucer stanza of Pierre Gringoire's "Château de Labour," wherein dwell Riches, Virtue, and Honour The original was published in 1499 Barclay's translation was first printed by Wynken de Worde in 1506

Barclay's first preferment was to the office of a chaplain in the College of St Mary Ottery, which had been founded in 1335, by Bishop Grandisson, for forty members under four officers a warden, a minister, a precentor, and a sacristan There were eight minor canons, and the manor and advowson of the parish church, bought by Grandisson from the Chapter of Rouen, was part of the endowment of the College Thomas Cornish, Suffragan Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Bishop of Tyne, was Warden of the College of St Mary Ottery from 1490 to 1511, he was also Provost of Oriel from 1493 to 1507 To Cornish, as his chief at St Mary Ottery, where Barclay made, in 1508, his translation of Brant's "Ship of Fools," that work was dedicated It was published by Richard Pynson, who finished printing

it on the 14th of December, 1509 Henry VII had died on the 21st of April in that year. Barclay's translation of "The Ship of Fools" was made, therefore, in St Mary's College, Ottery, at the close of Henry VII's reign, and published in the first year of the reign of Henry VIII

The "Narrenschiff," first published in 1494, had become famous through Europe during the twelve years between its first appearance and Barclay's work on it as a free-handed translator Its author, Sebastian Brant, was still living in 1508, and his work had been made acceptable to all educated readers by a Latin version of it as *Navis Stultifera* that had appeared in 1497 Sebastian Brant, born at Strasburg in 1458, went, at the age of seventeen, to study at Basel, where he graduated as Doctor of Laws, and became an academic teacher That was his position at Basel when he wrote there his "Narrenschiff," in Swabian dialect, and published it in 1494, at the age of six-and-thirty The book was enriched with woodcuts giving emblems of one hundred and fourteen different sorts of fool, for which Brant himself made, or suggested, all the drawings His descriptions of the fools were written in the iambic octosyllabic verse that had become familiar to those who read romances

"The Ship of Fools"

Sebastian Brant had a loyal admiration for the Emperor Maximilian In July, 1499, the Battle of Dorneck separated Basel from the Empire Brant therefore left Basel, and went back to his native town His book had made him very famous There were four editions of it in the year of its first issue Maximilian recognised Brant's loyalty, and made him a State Councillor Strasburg honoured him with the office of Chancellor He wrote annals of the town,* and lived in honour till his death in 1521

One sign of the strong local interest in Brant's book

* Burnt in 1870 at the Siege of Strasburg

was that his friend, Geiler von Kaisersberg, the chief preacher in Strasburg, gave a hundred and ten sermons upon it in the great church of the town The book was translated soon into Low German From the Latin version of it, by Jacob Locher, published in 1497, many could translate who were unable to read German It was turned out of Latin into French by Pierre Rivière, of Poictiers, before Alexander Barclay made the English version, of which he says that he translated it "out of Laten, Frenche, and Doche" (German) "into Englysshe tonge" Barclay had probably the three forms of the book at hand in his quiet room at St Mary's Ottery, and may have "beheld them lovingly,"* as Layamon did the three books out of which he made his "Brut," but he looked most at the Latin

The spirit of Barclay's translation was that of the original book, with free addition and unconscious adaptation to the manners of a new nation of readers Brant was a scholar, he was a German with strong national feeling, and he was very much in earnest about the essentials of life As a scholar he illustrated his "Fools" with many recollections of pertinent passages in the Bible, and in Seneca and other Latins Indeed, among his contributions to his friend Locher's Latin version of his poem Brant speaks of the original as if it had only been a mosaic of translation But it was much more than that The fools, no doubt, we have always with us Their types are constant, and each of us may be regarded, by his friends at least, as entitled to some old familiar berth on board their ship But the accidental characters of each type vary a good deal with time and country, and there may be great differences in the manner of regarding folly Brant's accidental characters are those of Germany in his own time Their Continental origin is marked, for example, by distaste for the bold spirit of travel and adventure which is a main feature of life among us

* "E W" iii 213

islanders, whose coasts bring us next door to all the nations It is the islander who mixes freely with the world, the inlander is frontier-bound, beset with loads of earth at his house door So the old German kept his own stove warm. Sebastian Brant thought him a fool who did not stay at home, mind his own business, and in a homely way, without hurt to himself, do his duty to his neighbour and love God The whole body of Brant's conception of the folly of the world was one with his conception of its evil It was unwisdom in the choice of the objects of desire, due to a weakness of mind that fails in power of reasoning the past into the present, and the present on into the future, fails also in calm power of distinguishing their real proportions among the thousand and one objects of wise and unwise desire Then, being himself bookish, he began his list of fools, near home, with a collector of books who takes no wisdom from them, buys them, binds them, dusts them, shows them to his learned friends, and finds only food for covetousness when he should find Wisdom and get a treasure beyond all the treasures of the world Brant was faithfully followed by Alexander Barclay in this purpose of giving Wisdom a voice through his own book, that showed the truer estimate of life in contrast with a hundred and more of the chief forms of unwisdom in the world Their world was the world seen daily by the readers of the book Every suggestion of folly touched upon some known form of character Thus there was clear advance, from a vague moralising upon human conduct, towards that picturing of life in action which became, not long afterwards, the substance of the drama

Brant's notion of a "Ship" of Fools was derived from the old carnival processions on Shrove Tuesday, when among the pageants drawn through the streets was sometimes a ship on wheels, manned with grotesque merry-makers.

The Ship of Fools.

"To ship, gallants, the sea is at the full," says Barclay The wind calls us, our sails are spread Where shall we land? At Lynn or Hull? No haven in England will deny us entrance Our anchor's up Loosen and slip the ropes! Look back upon the crowd ashore that would fain come on board We have room for no more Haul up the boat! God keep us from rocks, quicksands, and foul weather! I steer the ship Have no disdain, readers, though Barclay is the captain He has been so long a scholar in so many schools that he well may be Captain of a Ship of Fools Enough of that Pardon my youth and too bold enterprise, for hard it is duly to speak of every vice Had I a hundred tongues, all knowledge of the Seven Sciences, and life to last till the world's end, I could not touch all the vices Were virtue in the place of vice, there would be no fools in my ship Whoever finds himself in this rude book, let him learn the way to amendment —There is a prose prologue partly translated from that prefixed by Locher to the "Navis Stultifera" Readers are asked to pardon Alexander de Barklay "if ignorance, negligence, or lack of wit cause him to err in this translation His purpose and singular desire is to content your minds, and soothly he hath taken upon him the translation of this present book neither for hope of reward nor laud of man, but only for the wholesome instruction, commodity, and doctrine of Wisdom, and to cleanse the vanity and madness of foolish people, of whom over great number is in the Royalme of England"

Next follows the Prologue This and the main part of the book is written in the seven lined Chaucer stanza There are a few lively variations in the measure used for description of the fools, and the "Envoys of Barclay" that append his counsel to each kind of fool are written in the eight-lined Chant Royal (ababbcbc), specially used in France for verse written to advance the glory of God The world is full of good doctrine, says the Prologue It has the Bible, and books of philosophy, of the liberal arts and moral virtues, yet Doctrine is banished, Wisdom is exiled, Grace is decayed, Faith, Love, Pity are defiled, and the World wanders in darkness —

> "Honest manners now are reputed of no more
> Lawyers are lords, but Justice is rent and tore,
> Or closed, like a monster, within doors three,
> For without meed or money no man can her see"

Fools multiply without restraint If a man have a great belly and his coffers full, there is none held wiser between London and Hull

I should want all the ships of all the lands to float them all They run to our ship, swim after it, row after it, but the wind is up, the sea swells, we are full laden, and set sail We must not touch at London on our voyage, in city or court, but who will may read their faults painted about our barge No creature in this life is without spot, unable to remember deeds of youth or age that give him some place in our ship, but if he repent and live in simpleness, he shall have no place nor room more in our navy but he who, though he be naught, thinks of himself all's well, such shall in this barge bear a bauble and bell Here are men of all estates and ages—poor and rich, churls and citizens—who hasten to leap aboard and bruise their shins Children with fathers who have not guided them aright, learned and unlearned man, maid, child, and wife, may here see and read the lewdness of their life Here are prodigal gallants, movers of dissension, backbiters and breakers of wedlock, proud men and covetous—

> "It is but foly to rehers the names here
> Of all such Foles, as in one shelde or targe,
> Syns that they and foly dystynctly shal apere
> On euery lefe in Pyctures fayre and large
> To Barclay's study, and Pynson's cost and charge
> Wherfore, ye redars, pray that they both may be saued
> Before God, syns they your folyes haue thus graued"

Three more stanzas enforce the intention of the book, and says the author at last—

> "If I halt in metre or err in eloquence
> Or be too large in language, I pray you blame not me,
> For my matter is so bad it will none other be"

Then follows a prose explanation, setting forth that the book named "The Ship of Fools of the World" was "translated out of Latin, French, and Dutch into English, in the College of St Mary Ottery, by me, Alexander Barclay, to the felicity and most wholesome instruction of mankind, the which containeth all such as wander from the way of truth and from the open path of wholesome understanding and wisdom" The book might, says Barclay, have been called the Satire—that is to say, the Reprehension of Foolishness, but the novelty of the name was more pleasant unto the first Author to call it "The Ship of Fools" Let the translator be forgiven who has not translated word for word according to the verses of his author "For I have but only drawn into our mother tongue in rude language the sentences" (thoughts) "of

the verses as near as the parcity of my wit will suffer me, some time adding, some time detracting and taking away, such things as seemeth to me necessary and superflue Wherefore I desire of you readers pardon of my presumptuous audacity, trusting that ye shall hold me excused if ye consider the scarceness of my wit and my unexpert youth I have in many places overpassed divers poetical digressions and obscureness of fables, and have concluded my work in rude language, as shall appear in my translation But the special cause that moveth me to this business is to avoid the execrable inconveniences of idleness, which (as Saint Bernard saith) is mother of all vices, and to the utter derision of obstinate men delighting them in folly and misgovernance But because the name of this book seemeth to the reader to proceed of derision, and by that mean that the substance thereof should not be profitable, I will advertise you that this book is named the Ship of Fools of the World, for this World is naught else but a tempestuous sea in the which we daily wander and are cast in divers tribulations, pains, and adversities, some by ignorance and some by wilfulness, wherefore such doers are worthy to be called Fools, since they guide them not by reason as creatures reasonable ought to do " Barclay adds presently that, for the pleasure of lettered men, he has adjoined the verses of his author with divers concordances out of the Bible, to fortify his writing by the same

Then the great company of Fools of the World begins to pass before us First comes the Fool of Books, who collects them, values them as curiosities, and takes no wisdom by them "All is in them, and nothing in my mind " But the greatest fools are first to get promotion, and the clerk who is firm and diligent in study of the Bible, and preaches Christ's love without favour, is shent by the commonalty "and by Estates thretened to Pryson oft therefore " Next come the evil counsellor, judges and men of law who by favour or rigour condemn the guiltless and take bribes to favour the transgressor They are represented by a picture of the fools who try to boil a live sow in a pan. The Fools of Avarice and Prodigality are set in the topcastle of the ship, for he who lies on the ground content with enough is surer than he who lies on high, "now up, now down, unsure as a balance " Crassus was brought to his end by covetousness Crates the Philosopher so blamed it that he threw all his treasure into the sea, "to have his mind unto his study free " "Fools of new fashions and disguised garments" follow next They are represented in Brant's picture by an old fool admiring his clothes in a hand-mirror, from which a youth, whom his example has perverted, is eager to see himself also reflected There is lament for the past days "when men with honest

ray could hold themselves content," wore beards down to the breast, strove who should be most cleanly, godly, honest and discreet—

> " But nowadays together we contend and strive
> Who may be gayest, and newest ways contrive "

Then follow the Old Fools who, the longer they live, are more given to folly, represented in Brant's woodcut by an old man in a fool's cap, with vacant face, a staff in each hand, one foot in his grave "I am a fool, and glad am of that name, desiring laud for each ungracious deed " Shakespeare afterwards showed him to us in Justice Shallow The next fool in the list is the Negligent Father, represented in the woodcut with a bandage on his eyes while his boys gamble and dispute with daggers in their hands Philip gave to his son, Alexander, the wisest teacher he could find in all the world, and Aristotle, the disciple of Plato, enabled Alexander to be lord of land and sea The next set of fools are the talebearers, false reporters and promoters of strife, who seek promotion by their evil ways, but find confusion in the end, and put their legs to grind between two millstones, the fate represented in the woodcut which Sebastian Brant designed to be their emblem Then come in succession the fools who will not follow good counsel, those of disordered and ungodly manners, pictured by a foolish youth trailing his bauble The next set of fools are those who break friendship It is in the one stanza of "Envoy" to these fools that Barclay for the first time varies from the Chaucer stanza by using the *chant royal* Then comes the despiser of Holy Scripture He is blind, and his place in the ship is to pull up the anchor Then comes the fool without provision, figured by the man who leaps to his saddle before he has girt his horse. Fools of disordered love, Fools who sin on without repentance because they presume upon God's mercy, Fools who begin to build before they count the cost, Fools gluttonous and drunken, unprofitably rich, serving two masters, babblers, follow next in order Then comes the fool who shows the way to others and himself sticks in the slough, followed by him who finds goods of another man and keeps them for his own—a class that includes the false executor Now Wisdom mounts the pulpit and preaches a sermon to the wise and foolish—

> " Wisdom, with voice replete with gravity,
> Calleth to all people and saith, 'O thou mankind,
> How long wilt thou live in this enormity ?
> Alas, how long shalt thou thy wit have blind ?
> Hear my precepts and root them in thy mind !

> Now is full time and season to clear thy sight
> Hearken to my words, ground of goodness and right ' "

After the preaching of Wisdom, Folly holds her course - The next follies represented are Boasting in Fortune, Chargeable Curiosity of Men—represented by a fool stooping to bear the whole world on his back Then we are shown the foolishness of them that are always borrowing, of vain prayers and vows, of unprofitable study, of them that speak against the works of God, of them that judge others, of the pluralist His emblem is the miller who brings his ass to the ground by loading his back with too many sacks Then follow the fools who put off the day of their amendment; they who are jealous of their wives, the adulterers, those who cannot and will not learn, speak much, hear, see, and bear nothing away "And here," says Barclay in a stanza, "slacken sail, I have eight neighbours of this sort, secondaries in St Mary's Ottery, whom you ought to take on board "

Next come the troops of fools who are of great wrath on small occasion, who trust mutable Fortune, who, when sick, thwart their physician, who cannot keep their own counsel, who cannot be warned by the misfortunes of others, who are vexed at the backbitings of the ignorant, who are themselves mockers, scorners, and false accusers, who prefer things transitory to things eternal; who are noisy idlers in the House of God, who knowingly and idly put themselves in peril The next section sets forth the way of Felicity and Goodness, and the Pain to come to Sinners Then follow sections on the ill example that their elders give to youth, of bodily pleasure, of fools who cannot keep their secrets, of young fools marrying old women for their wealth, of envious fools, of impatient fools who will not abide correction, of foolish physicians, unlearned in their craft, of leapings and dances, and fools who pass their time in such vanity Against the prevalence of dancing there is vigorous complaint It began in idolatry—

> " Before this idol dancing, both wife and man,
> Despising God Thus dancing first began "

Other fools are night-watchers who play music in the streets when they should be abed, there are fools of many kinds among the beggars, and women are fools when they are angry The next section, Of the great power and might of Fools, has an Envoy of five stanzas on the close of Civil War in England—the duty of learning to live in peace by the red rose redolent—

> "Though that we Britons be fully separate
> From all the world, as is seen by evidence,
> Walled with the sea, and long been in debate
> By insurrection, yet God hath made defence
> By the provision ordained us, a prince
> In all virtues most noble and excellent
> This Prince is Harry, clean of conscience,
> Smelling as the rose, aye fresh and redolent"

Then come the follies of astronomers, geographers, of those who strive against men stronger than themselves, of those who cannot take a joke, of those who offend others without thinking how their malice may be rendered to them again, of improvident fools, litigious fools, ribald fools, clerical fools If a youth be misshapen of body or weak of wit, he is put into the Church, not that he may please God, but that he may live at ease, avoiding worldly business

> "The order of Priesthood is troubled of each fool,
> The honour of Religion everywhere decays,
> Such caitiffs and courtiers that never were at school
> Are first promoted to Priesthood nowadays"

Numa sought to place wise and virtuous men in his temples, but now—

> "From the kitchen to the choir, and so to a state,
> One yesterday a courtier is now a priest become,
> And then how these follies their minds so elevate
> That they disdain men of virtue and wisdóm
> But if they have of gold a mighty sum
> They think them able a man to make or mar,
> And are so presumptuous and proud as Lucifar
> O godly order, O priestly innocence,
> O laudable life, wisdom and humility"—

Why have we put you away? "The Prelates are the cause of this misgovernance" O cursed hunger of silver and gold! for your love and immoderate desire the priesthood is now sold to fools and boys, and there are no worse fools than the Fools of the Spirituality—

> "O holy orders of Monks and of Freres
> And of all other sorts of Religión,
> Your straitness hath decayéd of late years,
> The true and perfect Rule of you is done

Few keepeth truly their right professión
In inward vesture, diet, word, or deed,
Their chief study is their wretched womb to feed "

Errors among the people come from ignorance in priests, and ignorance in priests comes of the avarice in bishops, who will sell the priestly office for a bribe

Then follow these orders of fools —The proud and boastful, card-players and dicers, fools troubled with a sense of their own folly, among whom is the poet troubled with a knowledge of his indolence, extortionate knights, officers, men of war, scribes, and practisers of law, among whom the poet puts

" Mansell of Ottery for polling of the poor
Were not his great womb, he should have an oar,"

but he shuts out Sir John Kirkham, a Devonshire knight, who was Sheriff of the county in 1507, and again in 1523.

" My Master, Kirkham, for his perféct meeknéss,
And supportation of men in poverty,
Out of my ship shall worthily be free
I flatter not I am his true servitour,
His chaplain and bedeman while my life shall endure,
Requiring God to exalt him to honóur
And of his Prince's favour to be sure,
For, as I have said, I know no creatúre
More manly and righteous, wise, discreet, and sad
But though he be good, yet others are as bad "

Then come the foolish messengers and pursuivants, foolish cooks, butlers and servants, who waste their masters' goods, the arrogance and pride of rude men of the country, the men who begin to do well and continue not in that purpose, fools who despise death, making no provision for it, in which section are some stanzas founded on the pictures of the Dance of Death Then come the fools who despise God, the blasphemers and swearers, followed by a section on the wrath of God and fools who do not fear it Fools' bargains, foolish children who do not honour their father and mother, follow next Then comes a section on the chattering and babbling of priests and clerks in the choir, telling gestes of Robin Hood when they should be preparing their hearts for the service of God, but the penny pricked them to devotion that is outward and not rooted in the heart

Still the crowd presses—fools, fools, fools! Fools of elevate pride and boasting, usurers, waiters for inheritance of wealth, neglecters of holy days, repenters of gifts, sluggards Then come the strange fools and infidels, as Saracens and Turks, decay and ruin through them of the Catholic Faith, danger to Christendom, among whose states let the English be true to King Henry, whose praise, in four stanzas, is followed by five glowing in praise of James IV of Scotland The union of the English Lion's wealth and wisdom with the might and courage of the Scottish Unicorn is able to bring peace to Christendom and make the false Turks yield again our Christian lands

Then follow more and more of the fools in Christendom—flat terers, talebearers, crafty deceivers, false prophets, and the host of Antichrist, preachers tonguetied for fear of punishment, with woodcut emblem of a preacher in the pulpit pressing finger upon lip in presence of a sword Fools who withdraw and hinder others from good deeds, fools who omit good works, and have no oil in their lamps at the coming of the bridegroom, follow next Then are set forth, in two sections, the reward of wisdom and the despising of misfortune Backbiting, vile manners at table, fools in masks or other counterfeit apparel having been set forth, we have the description of a Wise Man, after which comes a section of fools that despise Wisdom and Philosophy, and a commendation of the same Next follows a contention between Pleasure and Virtue Pleasure objects against Virtue, with praise of her own service to man, in various light measures with frequency of rhyme The varying measure is well managed, and this part of the "Ship of Fools" might be regarded as an independent poem Virtue replies in Chaucer stanza

Then there is set up the image of a Universal Ship to which Fools who have been left out may betake themselves There shall be room in it for Robin Hill, for millers and bakers who give false weight, and stealing tailors, as Soper and Mansell Come, run, companions, it is time to row! All men are fools who cannot guide themselves, that's all the world except a few Come Asia, Africa, come Lombards, come from Sicily and from Almaine, come fools of Italy, France, Flanders, Greece, and Spain From all cities, huts and palaces in England there are some to come Touch where we may—at London or at Bristol—there are fools enough to come on board We choose no harbour, but we wander on the sea, hear Scylla roaring, listen to the mermaids' song, see Polyphemus in his den, and a thousand more monsters ready to devour mankind We have drunk of the cup of foolishness, and care not though monsters swallow up our souls Craftsmen and labourers crowd to our ship, and men who climb to fall through over-

worldliness The list ends with "brief addition of the singularity of some new fools " They are the hypocrites within the Church—wolves in sheep's clothing—

> " A heavenly life is to be monk or frere,
> Yet is it not enough to bear the name—
> Such must they be in life as they appear
> In outward habit '

Barclay excuses himself to the critics, but Virgil himself was blamed, and Jerome could not keep himself from envy

> " Hold me excused, for why, my will is good
> Men to induce unto virtue and goodnéss
> I write no geste, ne tale of Robin Hood,
> Nor sow no sparkles, ne seed of viciousnéss
> Wise men love Virtue, wild people Wantonnéss ,
> It longeth not to my science nor cunning
> For Philip the Sparrow the Dirige to sing "

After that reference to Skelton, there follows from the poet of St Mary's House at Ottery a poem in *chant royal* in praise of the Virgin, and then, after a break, this final Chaucer stanza—

> " Our Shyp here length the seas brode
> By helpe of God almyght, and quyetly
> At Anker we lye within the rode
> But who that lysteth of them to bye
> In Flete strete shall them fynde trulý
> At the George, in Richard Pynsonnes place,
> Printer unto the Kyngés noble grace
> Deo gratias "

All the Fools in the Ship having been here cited in the order chosen for describing them, it may be seen that there is no attempt at classification, only an occasional association of ideas that causes one fool to suggest another Full classification would be nothing less than the outline of a complete system of ethics Brant's book remained popular for several generations Its pictures, repeated by Pynson in his fine edition of Barclay, were imitated and sometimes

repeated with slight variation, and had much influence on the development of Books of Emblems Barclay's homely good sense fastened readily upon Brant's method of appealing to the people He also was apt at proverbs, and well read in Ovid, Juvenal, and Seneca , but in the Bible most A priest true to the best traditions of his Church, Barclay was no Lollard, and yet earnest for reform He distinctly recognised the dangers in the way of those who made self-seeking prelates answerable for the corruption of the Church, yet he himself spoke boldly Among Barclay's lost books, named by Bale, was one in Latin against Skelton Barclay's "Ship of Fools" long remained popular It led Erasmus to his "Praise of Folly ', it may have inspired, even in the Commonwealth time, a poet's "Dialogue between the Resolved Soul and Earthly Pleasure"

Eclogues

Frequently in "The Ship of Fools" Barclay speaks of his youth, and he may have begun his version several years before 1508, when it was ready for Pynson's press He wrote also some Eclogues in his youth and put them aside, to take them up again in Henry VIII 's reign, revise them, and then print them

Very soon after the publication of "The Ship of Fools," Barclay is found to have left St Mary Ottery, and to have entered the great religious house at Ely as a Benedictine monk He was a monk of Ely when he published, first without date or printers' imprint, three Eclogues in dialogue between two shepherds, Coridon and Cornix, "composed by Alexander Barclay, priest, in his youth" They were formed from the *Miseriæ Curialium* of Æneas Silvius Piccolomini, who became Pope in 1458 as Pius II , and died in 1464 A fourth Eclogue followed, also without date, "conteyning the maner of the riche men anenst poets and other clerks Emprinted by Richarde Pynson, printer to the kynges noble grace" This was entitled "The Book of Codrus and Mynaclus," and closed with the "descrypcion of the towre

of Virtue and Honour" (given as a song by one of the shepherds) "into which the noble Hawarde contended to entre by worthy actes of chivalry" That is Sir Edward Howard, who was for a short time Lord High Admiral, and was killed when attacking, in 1513, the French fleet in the harbour of Brest This suggests 1514 as the date of publication The Eclogue is based on the Fifth Eclogue of Mantuan—*De Consuetudine Divitum erga Poetas*—but Barclay's additional matter amounts to a thousand lines "The fyfte Eglog of Alexandre Barclay, of the Cytezen and vplondyshman" next followed, also without date, and was printed by Wynken de Worde This also is based upon one of the Eclogues of Mantuan—*De disceptatione Rusticorum et Civium*—which it expands from two hundred to a thousand lines

"The Citizen and Uplandishman"

of Barclay's fifth Eclogue are Amintas and Faustus, two young shepherds met in a cottage in cold January, when fire is comfortable Their sheep were all sure and closed in a cot, themselves lapped in litter, pleasantly and hot—

> "For costly was fire in hardest of the year,
> When men have most need then everything is dear"

Amintas had learnt in London to go mannerly, without a hair on his cloak or wrinkle in his coat He wore a tin brooch on his bonnet, but his purse was empty In London he had been hostler, waferer, costermonger, taverner,

> "But when coin failed, no favour more had he,
> Wherefore he was glad out of the town to flee"

Faustus had lived content among the fields, though he had no comfort against age but a milch cow and a cottage But he did not love the life in cities

Amintas opens the dialogue with a description of the winter season, when snow covers the ground, the north wind blows, icicles hang from the eaves, the stream is frozen, nights are cold and long, and carts pass

where boats rowed In the hot summer, cold of winter was desired, and winter being come, summer is wanted "It is the way with men," says Faustus "Yet each season," says Amintas, "hath his delights and toys Look in the streets, behold the little boys, how in fruit season for joy they sing and hop, in Lent is each one busy with his top In winter a fat pig killed gives hope of a good dinner They blow the bladder, put beans or peas into it, toss it rattling in the air, keep it up from the ground with foot and hand Running and leaping, they drive away the cold The sturdy ploughman, lusty, strong, and bold, overcometh the winter with driving the football, forgetting labour and many a grievous fall" "Yes," says Faustus, "men labour harder over trifles than at work that brings advantage" "Let them work," says Amintas, "while we rest in the warm litter, with milk on the fire. If it curdle we shall need no bread, and if thou bide, Faustus, thereof thou shalt have some" "We are very improvident," says Faustus, "here in the country In summer we leave labour if we hear a bagpipe or a drone, so goes our money, and when winter comes we have bare shoulders and holes in our shoes In towns they gather treasure in plenty—

> "They spoil the lambs and foxes of their skin,
> To lap their wombés and fat sides therein"

Says Amintas, "The men of the earth be fools each one, but they are madder in the cities I have lived in the city, and do not favour it Fortune is stepmother to us and a kind mother to citizens, but what is Fortune but a thing vituperable?" "No doubt," said Faustus, "I shall come to rule a city if Fortune smile on me—

> "Ask thou of Cornix, declare to thee he can
> How coin more than cunning exalteth every man"

"Thou errest," says Amintas—

> "'Tis not Fortúne which granteth excellence,
> True honour is won by vertue and sapience
> If men get honour by worldly policý,
> It is no honour, but wretched miserý
> God maketh mighty, God giveth true honoúr
> To godly persons of godly behavioúr
> God first disposed and made diversitíe
> Between rude plowmen and men of the citíe
> And in what manner, Cornix, thine own mate,
> As we went talking, recounted to me of late"

Says Faustus, "What told thee Cornix? He has pregnant wit, though little money" "But what then?" says Amintas "If thou like my tale, now is the time to do some work—

> "Faustus, arise thou out of this litter hot,
> Go see and visit our wethers in the cot"

"Go, man, for shame, he is a slothful daw which leaveth profit for pleasure of hot straw" "I will go," says Faustus, "but look here, Amintas! Lord, benedicite! The cold snow reacheth higher than my knee" "Give the beasts plenty of rowan," says Amintas, "and stop all the holes you see —What! back already, friend? The short conclusion shows bad work" Faustus replies—

> "This cumbrous weather made me more diligent
> I ran all the way both as I came and went,
> And there I sped me and took the greater pain
> Because I lightly would be with thee again
> After great cold it is full sweet, God wot,
> To tumble in the straw or in the litter hot
> Now be we, Amintas, in hay up to the chin,
> Fulfil thy promise, I pray thee now begin"

Amintas then repeats what Cornix told him When Adam was wedded to Eve, and they were bidden to increase and multiply, Eve had twins every year for the first fifteen years There being nobody to woo his wife, Adam went out to his work without jealousy One day, while Adam was pitching his fold, Eve sat at home among her many children, cuddling and kissing them, loosing and combing their hair, anointing their necks with butter, and sometimes musing how to deck them pleasantly Our Lord drew nigh She blushed, and, being ashamed to be seen with so great a brood of children, she hastily hid some—

> "Some under hay, some under straw and chaff,
> Some in the chimney, some in a tub of draff,
> But such as were fair and of their stature right,
> As wise and subtle reservéd she in sight"

The Lord said, "Woman, let me thy children see I come to promote each after his degree" Then he made one an emperor, another a king, another a duke, giving him iron armour for the battle, some he made earls, some lords, some barons, some knights, some body champions Next were brought forth the sceptre and the crown, the sword, the pole-axe,

helm and habergeon He gave them armour, taught them chivalry, made judges, mages, merchants, aldermen Joyful Eve now fetched out the children she had hidden, that they also might have offices of honour But their hair was rugged, powdered all with chaff, some full of straw, some other full of draff, they were black and uncomely, some smelt all smoky, some were in dust and cobwebs These children, since a two-handed sword cannot be made of a cow's tail, were made into plowmen and tillers of the ground, thrashers, keepers of oxen, swine, and sheep, drudgers in works vile and rude, reaping and mowing of fodder, grass, and corn, yet shall town dwellers oft laugh you unto scorn, and some of them should do vile labour also in the city Now were brought to them the cart and harrow, the gad, the whip, the mattock and wheel-barrow, the spade, the shovel, the fork and the plough, and they were bidden never to grudge at labour nor at pain, for if they did it should be labour in vain Thus began honour and thus began bondage Ask Cornix if it be not so—

> "This told me Cornix which wonnéd in the fen,
> I trust his saying before a thousand men"

Then Faustus puts aside these unwise fables, foolishly feigned, and begins his praise of country life The pride of Cain made the earth stony, his brother Abel, the first shepherd, had favour with God Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Joseph and Job were shepherds Paris, the son of Priam, was a pastor Moses was shepherd when he saw the burning bush They were shepherds to whom angels sang the *Gloria*, which our priest, Sir Sampson, sings so softly Shepherds first saw the Saviour, and were first to bring their simple offerings David kept sheep before he was a king, Christ called Himself the shepherd of His flock So Sir Peter tells us, and I have seen it myself in picture on the wall of the cathedral Amintas says that he has seen it too —

> "Lately myself to see that picture was,
> I saw the manger, I saw the ox and ass,
> I well remember the people in my mind,
> Methinks yet I see the black faces of Inde,
> Methinks yet I see the herds and the kings,
> And in what manner were ordered their off'rings
> As long as I live the better shall I love
> The name of herds, and citizens reprove"

Then follows a large indictment of the vices of the city, bred of what gold can do in overthrow of justice, and upon these matters both shepherds are very much of the same mind

Gianbatista Mantuan, who for a time was General of the Carmelites, but did not like what he saw of them, and left them, died in 1515, about the time when Barclay was publishing these expansions of his Latin Eclogues He remained long famous as one of the best Latin poets of his day, and he came to be used, like Virgil, as a schoolbook

If we except Henryson's "Robin and Makyn,"* written at the close of the fifteenth century, Barclay's five Eclogues —published probably in 1513 and the next two or three years—stand at the beginning of the history of English pastoral Their inspiration came, as we have seen, from Italy, where Latin Eclogues were in fashion that used dialogue of shepherds with little care about their sheep or fields The speakers stood for men of simple nature who discussed the follies and corruptions of the world Eclogues so written were virtually satires Boccaccio had led the way in a form of pastoral, not Latin, that spread to Spain, and grew to be a later influence on English literature. But Barclay's Eclogues were based upon those which formed part of the Latin literature of the Renaissance in Italy They lie on the way to Spenser's "Shepherds' Calendar" as clearly as the allegories of Stephen Hawes lie on the way to Spenser's "Faerie Queen" The form of Spenser's Eclogues we shall find to have been determined more immediately by a French poet, who made advance of his own on the method of Mantuan, and wrote in his mother-tongue But the travel is on the same road, the thought is of a life other than the shepherd's, and in Spenser's Eclogues there are passages that show the direct influence of Mantuan

John Alcock

Not long before Alexander Barclay was a monk at Ely, John Alcock had been Bishop of Ely, and left a name in highest honour there Born at Beverley in 1430, and trained at Cambridge, Alcock was made Master of the Rolls in 1462, a Privy

* "E W" vi 254—256

Councillor in 1470, Bishop of Rochester in 1472, Bishop of Worcester in 1476, in which year also he served as Lord President of Wales He served as Lord Chancellor before he was translated to the See of Ely, which he occupied from 1486 until his death in 1500 He was for a time Comptroller of the royal works and buildings, for he had a genius in architecture, restored and rebuilt churches and schools, endowed Peterhouse, and founded Jesus College at Cambridge, a free grammar school at Hull, a collegiate church at Westbury At Cambridge he restored also Great St Mary's, at Ely his mark is set upon his chapel in the Cathedral and the episcopal palace He was munificent in good works, liberal in hospitality, but himself a pious student, who fasted, watched, and prayed while labouring with cheerful kindliness for the advancement of a true religion Barclay sang his praises with enthusiasm as an Algrind of the Church—

> "—a cock was in the fen,
> I know his voice among a thousand men
> He laughed, he preached, he mended every wrong,
> But, Corydon, alas, no good thing bideth long!
> He *all* was a *cock*, he wakened us from sleep,
> And while we slumbered he did our folds keep,
> No cur, no foxes, nor butchers' dogs wood,
> Could hurt our folds, his watching was so good
> The hungry wolves, which that time did abound,
> What time he crowed, abashéd at the sound"

Alcock could play with his own name He published in 1498 an address to his clergy as *Galli Cantus ad confratres suos curatos in synodo apud Barnwell*, and there is record of a good and gentle Sunday sermon of his that was two or three hours long Pynson published for him several religious books in the last two or three years of his life One was "The Abbey of the Holy Ghost, that shall be founded and grounded in a clear conscience, in which Abbey shall dwell Twenty and Nine Ladies ghostly" His

version of "The Hill of Sapience," from the Latin, was published by Pynson in 1497, and also by Wynken de Worde in 1497 and 1501 There is also a fragment of a metrical "Comment on the Seven Penitential Psalms," ascribed to Bishop Alcock *

Pynson printed at the request of Richard Earl of Kent, who died in 1523, Alexander Barclay's "Mirror of Good Manners"—metrical translation of a Latin poem, *De Quatuor Virtutibus*, on the Four Cardinal Virtues, first published in 1516 by Domenico Mancini Barclay made the translation when the original was a new book, at the request of Sir Giles Alington, probably of Allington, by Bridport, who had at first asked him to modernise and abridge Gower's "Confessio Amantis" That task Barclay had declined, considering it beyond his powers, and unsuited to his calling as a monk of Ely

Barclay's "Mirror of Good Manners"

At the request of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Barclay also wrote "The Introductory to Write and Pronounce French" This was published in folio at the sign of the Rose Garland, in Fleet Street, by Robert Copland, in 1521 Nine years afterwards, in *Lésclaircissement de la langue Françaís, composé par maistre Jehan Palsgrave, Angloys, natyf de Londres*, Palsgrave, objecting to the use of *k*, and other faults in Barclay's book, says "I have seen an old book written in parchment in manner in all things like to his said Introductory, which, by conjecture, was not unwritten this hundred years I wot not if he happened to fortune upon such another for when it was commanded that the grammar masters should teach the youth of England jointly Latin with French, there were divers such books devised, whereupon, as I suppose, began one great occasion why we of England sound the Latin tongue

His French Grammar

* MS Harl 1704, 4, fol 13 Cited by Thomas Warton in his "History of English Poetry"

so corruptly, which have as good a tongue to sound all manner speeches perfectly as any other nation in Europe" No other work of Barclay's is throughout original, and this, probably, was founded upon one of the manuscripts at Ely of the kind described by Palsgrave

Barclay's other extant work—printed, without date, by Richard Pynson—was the "Cronycle compyled in Latin by the renowned Sallust," a translation of Sallust's History of the Jugurthine War made at the request of Thomas Duke of Norfolk Of this there were three editions It was the first translation of Sallust into English, and one of the first of those translations from the Latin classics which in France and England became numerous after the Revival of Letters, and often had, as in Barclay, the vigour and freshness of original work Translation was at its best a generation or two later in the sixteenth century Barclay had powers capable of independent work, and his constant use of them in the transplanting of good thoughts from other languages into our English Literature, gives him a place of honour among those who first advanced the work of the translator well beyond the refashioning of mediæval treatises from Latin into English prose, or the turning of romances from French into English verse The New Life begins now to stir in the translator's veins

His Translation of Sallust

The new Impulse to Translation

No copies are known to remain of two other works written by Barclay, which are said to have been printed by Richard Pynson One of them was "The Figure of our Holy Mother Church oppressed by the French King" The other was the "Life of the Glorious Martyr, Saint George," translated from Mantuan, and dedicated to N West, who was Bishop of Ely from 1515 to 1533

When Sir Nicolas Vaux was preparing for the meeting of

kings on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, he wrote to Wolsey asking that Master Barclay—the Black Monk and poet—might be sent to him, that he might help in the preparation by devising histories and "convenient raisons to florisshe the buildings and banquet house withal"

After this, Barclay left the monks at Ely, took the habit of the Franciscans, and joined himself to their convent at Canterbury He outlived the dissolution of the monasteries in 1539, and seven years later, in the last year of Henry VIII's reign, he was presented to the Vicarages of Much Baden, in Essex, and St Matthew, at Wokey, in Somerset Barclay was presented also to the Rectory of All-Hallows, Lombard Street, a few weeks before his death in 1552, aged seventy-six On the 10th of June in that year he was buried at Croydon, where he had spent part of his youth

Last Years of Barclay

CHAPTER V

NORTH OF THE TWEED WILLIAM DUNBAR AND OTHER WRITERS

NORTH of the Tweed, in Henry VII's reign, the old spirit of liberty maintained vigour of life in a group of writers whose best power was shown when James IV was King of Scotland The high spirit had full utterance, for there was rest from feud between the English Crown and Scottish people

Scotland under James IV

James IV had become King in June, 1488, when in his sixteenth year Perkin Warbeck was, in 1495, a visitor at the Court of Scotland, and he was there married to a lady of the Royal Family James made some attempts to maintain his guest's quarrel with England, but they came to little, and Henry VII worked for a reversal of the policy that made an enemy of Scotland Scotland, during the English civil wars free from attack, had increased in prosperity and power Henry VII's England needed peace at home, and in 1502 Margaret Tudor, Henry's daughter, aged twelve, was affianced to King James IV of Scotland, then aged thirty The princess entered Edinburgh a year later; marriage took place on the 8th of August, 1503, and was celebrated by William Dunbar in his Court poem of "The Thistle and the Rose," not without the home-speaking that usually passed between a Scottish subject and his Sovereign For Dame

Nature says to "the thistle keepit with a bush of spears"—

> "And sen thou art a king, be thou discreet,
> Herb without virtue hald not of sic price
> As herb of virtue and of odour sweet,
> And let no nettle vile and full of vice
> Her fellow to the guidly flour de lis,
> Nor let no wild weed full of churlishness
> Compare her to the lilie's nobleness"

James IV of Scotland, to whom such counsel was given, was a handsome man with uncut hair and beard, liberal, active in war or chase, familiar with his people, brave to rashness, well read, and of good address He could speak Latin, French, German, Flemish, Italian, Spanish, Gaelic, and broad Scotch He wrote verse himself He was attentive to priests, and gave by his life good reason for Dunbar's especial warning in "The Thistle and the Rose" of the Thistle's solemn trust to

> "Hold no other flow'r in sic deuty
> As the fresh Rose, of colour red and white,
> For gif thou does, hurt is thine honesty"

Four ladies were mothers to his illegitimate children, and through this weak side of his nature he is said to have been cajoled in his youth by those who led him to unite with them against his father

William Dunbar

William Dunbar was born in Lothian, not later than the year 1460 Probably he was the grandson of Sir Patrick Dunbar of Beith He came of a family founded in the days of William the Conqueror by Cospatrick, who was descended through his mother from an Uchtred, who was Earl of Northumbria before the Conquest William I made Cospatrick Earl of Northumberland, but deprived him for rebellion in 1070 The deprived earl went into Scotland, where he allied himself by marriage

to Malcolm Canmore, from whom he thus obtained the manor of Dunbar and lands in Merse and Lothian The fourth in succession from Cospatrick was made Earl of Dunbar, and the eighth Earl of Dunbar became in 1292 Earl of March The eleventh Earl of March was attainted by James I in 1435, when his earldom and lands held of the Crown were forfeited Thenceforth this branch of the family—the branch from which, as we learn from the "Flytings' of Walter Kennedy, the poet sprang—decayed The chief strength had passed to another branch that in the fourteenth century yielded Earls of Moray, who were represented in the poet's time by the wealthy family of the Dunbars of Westfield, male descendants of the last Earl of Moray

William Dunbar seems to have been educated for the service of the Church ,—on the nurse's knee, he tells us, he was "Dandeley, Bishop, dandeley!" In 1475 he was sent to the University of St Andrews, which had been founded by Bishop Wardlaw in 1411 This was the first University in Scotland, Glasgow, founded by Bishop Turnbull about 1454, was the next that followed, and then came Aberdeen, founded by Bishop William Elphinstone in 1494 Of the three colleges in St Andrews University, only one existed in Dunbar's time—St Salvator's, founded in 1458 by Bishop Kennedy St Leonard's and St Mary's were not added until 1532 and 1552 William Dunbar graduated as Bachelor of Arts from St Salvator's College in 1477, within twenty years of its first building, and in 1479 he proceeded to the degree of Master of Arts So much having been learnt from the Acts of the Faculty of Arts at Saint Andrews, the only light we have upon the next twenty years of Dunbar's life is from a poem of his own, which tells us that in early life he wore the habit of the Franciscans, and travelled in it through all towns between Berwick and Calais —

> " In freiris weid full fairly haif I fleichit,*
> In it haif I in pulpet gone and preichit
> In Derntoun kirk, and eik in Canterberry
> In it I past at Dover oure the ferry,
> Throu Piccardy, and thair the peple teichit "

Divinity and philosophy were taught at Edinburgh in a house of Observantine Franciscans, endowed by James I about the year 1446 Dunbar may have continued under them his study of divinity, and joined their order Of his travelling as a Franciscan friar and pardoner, Dunbar's friend, Walter Kennedy, speaks also in the comic "Flyting" presently to be described —

> " Fro Atrik Forest furthward to Drumfreiss
> Thow beggit with ane pardoun in all kirkis
> Collapis, crudis, meill, grottis, gryce and geiss,
> And undir nycht quhylis thow stall staigis and stirkis
> Becauss that Scotland of thy begging irkis,
> Thow schaipis in France to be a knycht of the feild ,
> Thow has thy clam schellis, and thy burdoun keild,
> Unhonest wayis all, wolroun, that thou wirkis " †

But the time came when he threw off with disgust the habit of the friar, that had become to many men a cloak of hypocrisy In the short later poem of his—

"*The Visitation of St Francis*,"

he feigns that before dawn St Francis seemed to stand before him with a religious habit in his hand,

> " And said, In this go claith thee, my servand,
> Refuiss the warld, for thow mon be a Freir "

* *Fleichit*, wheedled, flattered

† Line 3, he begged—Slices of meat, curds, meal, groats (oats with the husks off), pigs, and geese Line 4, *Staigis*, young horses , *stirkis*, young bullocks Line 7, *Clam schellis*, pilgrims' scallop shells , *burdoun*, the pilgrim's staff , *keild*, marked with ruddle.

The poet was scared at the sight, and when the habit was laid over him upon the bed, jumped nimbly out upon the floor, and never would come near it "Why art thou startled by this holy weed? Clothe thee therein, for thou must preach in it"—"Take it not ill, sweet Confessor, who are so kind of your clothes I have heard of more saints among bishops than among the friars, fetch me a bishop's robe, then, if you wish my soul to go to heaven"—"My brethren have been urging you by speech and letters to take this habit, but you put them off Come on, therefore, at once—no more excuses!" —"If ever I was to be a friar, the date is past full many a year I have flattered and preached in that habit from Berwick to Calais, and as far as Picardy As long as I wore it, I knew more tricks than can be cast out by holy water I was aye ready all men to beguile"

> "The freir that did Sanct Francis thair appeir,
> Ane feind he wes in liknes of ane freir,
> He vaneist away with stynk and fyrrie smowk,
> With him me thocht all the house end he towk,
> And I awoik as wy that was in weir"

He awoke, that is to say, as one who was in doubt whether the foul fiend might not have become patron of the order of St Francis

Good family connections, liberal education, and rare natural wit, with experience abroad acquired as a Franciscan, led to the employment of William Dunbar in the service of the King of Scotland after he had put off the friar's frock He seems to have been attached, as a clerk, to embassies and less formal missions sent by James IV to foreign Courts, and visited in this way France, Germany, Italy, and Spain

On the 15th of August, 1500, there is entry, in the Register of the Privy Seal, of a pension of ten pounds to "Maister Williame Dunbar to be pait to him of our Souerane Lordis cofferis, be the Thesaurare, for al the dais of his life, or quhil he be promovit be our Souerane Lord to a benefice of xl li or aboue" The accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, until 1508, after which the next three years of them become wanting, show that this pension

was paid half-yearly, and that the five pounds due at Martinmas in 1501 were not paid on the 20th of December with other pensions then drawn, but, as the entry records, "after he came furth of Ingland"

Dunbar was away in England with the Scottish Ambassadors who went to the Court of Henry VII bearing the contract of marriage between James IV of Scotland and the Princess Margaret. The contract was dated at Stirling, on the 8th of October, 1501

Dunbar in London

The same Robert Blackader, Archbishop of Glasgow, who was one of the ambassadors to London, had been sent in 1495 to seek a wife for James IV at the Court of Spain, and that may have been the occasion of Dunbar's visit to Spain Blackader was Bishop of Glasgow in 1492, when his see was erected into an Archbishopric A contemporary chronicle* quotes a balade made on the occasion of a Christmas dinner given by the Lord Mayor to the Scottish Ambassadors, the English Lord Chancellor, and other lords, saying that "one of the said Scots giving attendance upon a Bishop Ambassador, the which was reported to be a Protonotary of Scotland, and servant of the said Bishop, made this Balade following" Andrew Forman was joined with Blackader as one of the ambassadors, and he was Protonotary At the time of the Embassy, Forman was named for the Bishopric of Moray, and he was full bishop by November, 1502 He was much in the confidence of James IV, and Dunbar went to London as a clerk in his service or Bishop Blackader's,

* MS Brit Mus Cotton, Vitellius A xvi, cited by David Laing in the Supplement (1865) to his editions of "The Poems of William Dunbar, now first collected With Notes and a Memoir of his Life" 2 vols Edinburgh 1834 These volumes were the chief of Dr Laing's many and great services to the study of old Scottish literature I am indebted to him throughout, but the book has become scarce, and there is call now for a more accessible edition of the greatest Scottish poet before Burns

and as a poet who could use his skill in gracing the occasion Dunbar's balade, written to honour the Lord Mayor's entertainment, was filled with the praise of London, it had for its refrain, "London, thou art the flour of cities all," and closed with honour to its Mayor—

> "Thy famous Maire, by pryncely governaunce,
> With swerd of justice, thee ruleth prudently
> No Lord of Parys, Venyce, or Floraunce
> In dignitye or honoure goeth to hym nye
> He is exempler, loodé-ster, and guye,*
> Principall patrone and roose oryginalle,
> Above all Maires as maister moost worthy
> London, thou art the flour of cities all"

The Princess Margaret, who had not then completed her twelfth year, was affianced to the King of Scotland at Paul's Cross, on the 25th of January, 1502 In consideration of her youth, it was stipulated that she should not be sent to Scotland before the 12th of September, 1503 She arrived, in fact, on the 7th of August, 1503, and was married to James IV. at Holyrood on the following day

Dunbar wrote a song of welcome to the Princess Margaret on her arrival at Holyrood, joining his wit to the minstrelsy that welcomed the rose red and white, "one stalk yet green, O young and tender flower," and it was upon the occasion of this marriage that he produced, in Chaucer stanza, that one of his two chief Court poems which has already been quoted Both were in the form of allegory that we have traced through Chaucer from the "Romaunt of the Rose"

"*The Thrissil and the Rois*"

When the poet was in bed on a May morning, Aurora looked in at his window, with a pale green face, and on her hand a lark, whose song bade lovers wake from slumber Fresh May stood then before his bed,

* *Guye*, guide.

and bade the sluggard rise and write something in her honour Why should he rise? he asked, for few birds sang, and May brought only cold and wind that caused him to forbear walking among her boughs She smiled, and yet bade him rise to keep his promise that he would describe "the rose of most pleasaunce" So she departed into a fair garden, and it seemed to him that he went hastily after her, among the flowers, under the bright sunrise, where the birds sang for comfort of the light They sang, Hail to the May, Hail to the Morning, Hail to Princess Nature, before whom birds, beasts, flowers, and herbs were about to appear, "as they had wont in May from year to year," and pay due reverence First of the beasts came the Lion, whom Dunbar's description pleasantly associated with the lion on the arms of Scotland Nature, while crowning him, gave him a lesson in just rule A like lesson she gave to the eagle when she crowned him King of Birds, and, as we have seen, to the Thistle, who personified King James of Scotland, when she "saw him keepit with a bush of spears," crowned him with ruby, and bade him defend all others in the field Then came the poet's welcome of the Tudor Margaret, when Nature glorified her as the Rose, the freshest Queen of Flowers, and the poem closed with a song of hail and welcome to her from the merle, the lark, the nightingale, and from the common voice of the small birds, who, by their shrill chorus, woke the poet from his dream

The bold touch of direct counsel to the King brings an old form of allegory here into close contact with the life of its own day In "The Golden Terge" there is playful grace of the poet, who is the first since Chaucer in whom we recognise again a Master in his art Dunbar was a man of genius, born poet, with wide range of powers, cultivated mind, and perfect training in the mechanism of verse The conventional allegory belongs rather to Court poetry than to the literature of the people, which must be adapted to men as they are men within themselves The present flashed into the allegory of "The Thistle and the Rose," but "The Golden Terge" was altogether based upon tradition of the past, and there was nothing in its design that might not have been invented in the fourteenth century Allegorical poems showed in Stephen Hawes's "Pastime of Pleasure" and "Exemple of

Court Poetry

Vertue" the intervention of the metrical romance, in Skelton's "Bowge of Court" the intervention of Sebastian Brant, but Dunbar's "Golden Terge" is no more than a prelude to the larger utterance of one who in his youth read Chaucer eye to eye, and learnt from him to touch the tender stops of various quills—now grave with the deep undertones, now sportive either with broad humour or, as here, with playful grace

"*The Goldin Terge*"

is in stanzas of nine ten-syllabled lines, forming a peculiar measure allied to that of the balade, each stanza having a musical cadence of two rhymes thus interlaced—a a b a a b b a b This poem also begins with the conventional May morning The poet rose with the sun, saw the dew on the flowers, heard the songs of the birds, while a brook rushed, over pebbles and little waterfalls, among the bushes The sound of the stream and song of the birds caused him to sleep on the flowers

In dream he then saw the river, over which there came swiftly towards him a sail, white as blossom, on a mast of gold, bright as the sun A hundred ladies in green kirtles landed from the ship Among them were Nature and Queen Venus, Aurora, Flora, and many more May walked up and down in the garden between her sisters April and June, and Nature gave her a rich, painted gown The ladies saluted Flora, and sang of love Cupid and Mars, Saturn, Mercury, and other gods were there, also playing and singing, all arrayed in green

The poet crept through the leaves to draw nearer, was spied by love's queen, and arrested Then the ladies let fall their green mantles, and were armed against him with bows, but looked too pleasant to be terrible Dame Beauty came against him, followed by the damsels Fair Having, Fine Portraiture, Pleasaunce, and Lusty Cheer Then came Reason in plate of mail, as Mars armipotent, with the Golden Targe, or shield, to be his defender

Youth, Innocence, and other maids did no harm to the shield of Reason Sweet Womanhoood, with all her good company, Nurture and Loveliness, Patience, Good Fame and Steadfastness, Benign Look, Mild Cheer, Soberness, and others, found their darts powerless against the Golden Targe High Degree failed also, Estate and Dignity, Riches, and others, loosed against him in vain a cloud of arrows Venus then brought in allegorical recruits, and rearranged her forces But Reason, with the Shield of Gold, sustained the shock, till Presence threw a powder in his eyes that blinded him Then Reason was jested

at, and banished into the greenwood The poet was wounded nearly to the death, and in a moment was Dame Beauty's prisoner Fair Calling smiled upon him, Cherishing fed him with fair words, Danger came to him and delivered him to Heaviness But then the wind began to blow, and all, flying to the ship, departed As they went they fired guns, by which the poet was awakened to the renewed sense of the fresh May morning

This kind of invention is as old as "The Romaunt of the Rose," but Dunbar took it from Chaucer Though Chaucer had been dead a hundred years, no poet had yet succeeded to his throne The land was still "full filled with his songs" Gower and Lydgate were still named after him in courtly verse as the two other chief poets of the past, but of Chaucer men thought as Dunbar wrote in one of the closing stanzas of his "Golden Terge"—

> "O reverend Chaucer ! rose of rhetoris all
> As in our tongue ane flower imperial,
> That raise in Britain ever, who reads richt,
> Thou bears of makars the triúmph riall,
> Thy fresh enamellit termés celical
> This matter could illuminat have full bricht
> Was thou nocht of our English all the licht,
> Surmounting every tongue terrestrial
> Als far as Mayés morrow does midnicht"

"The Golden Terge," and other poems by Dunbar, were among the first productions of the printing press upon its establishment in Scotland The patent for establishing a press in Scotland was granted, in 1507, by James IV to Walter Chepman, a merchant, and Andrew Myllar, a working printer, burgesses of Edinburgh This patent, dated the 15th of September, in the twentieth year of the reign, says that Chepman and Myllar "hes at our instance and request, for our pleasure, the honour and proffit of our Realme and Liegis, taken on thame to furnis and bring hame ane prent, with all stuff belangand tharto, and expert men to use the samyne, for imprenting within our Realme of the bukis of our Lawis, actis of parliament, croniclis, mess bukis and

The First Printers in Scotland

portuus, eftir the use of our Realme, with addicions and legendis of Scottis sanctis, now gaderit to be ekit tharto, and al utheris bukis that salbe seen necessar " Here the first consideration of convenience, in the introduction of a printing press and a staff of expert printers into Edinburgh, is the diffusion of copies of Acts and Ordinances of the realm, chronicles, legends of the Scottish saints, and prayerbooks for use in public worship, the books of poetry lie hid in an etcetera The first book from this press that was found was, in fact, a breviary, the *Breviarium Aberdonense*, produced for Bishop William Elphinstone A copy of it was presented in 1635 to the library of the University of Edinburgh But in 1788 there was presented to the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh a volume containing eleven earlier books, each of a few leaves, in quarto, those which have colophons showing that they were printed by Chepman and Myllar in 1508 The earliest date is in this colophon, "Heir endis the maying and disport of Chaucer Imprentit in the southgait of Edinburgh be Walter chepman and Androw myllar the fourth day of aprile the yhere of God M CCCCC and viii yheiis" The piece here called "The Maying and Disport of Chaucer" is "The Complaint of the Black Knight," assigned now to Lydgate *

Andrew Myllar in this partnership was the working printer, Walter Chepman was the Edinburgh merchant who found capital for the enterprise Myllar had practised his art at Rouen Among the books of Victor Lazarche, at Tours, there was found, in 1869, an *Expositio Sequentiarum* dated 1506, and bearing Andrew Myllar's device—as it appears on Edinburgh books of 1508—of a man with a sack over his head going up a ladder to a mill, with the letters of his name in cipher on a shield in front, and shields displaying lilies in each upper corner, which point, of course, to an origin in France M Claudin, who

* "E W" vi. 108.

discovered the book in making a sale catalogue, found that it was set in the types of Laurence Hostingue, who was in 1506 printer at Rouen in partnership with Jamet Loys A yet earlier book, dated 1505, was afterwards found by M Claudin, in which Andrew Myllar distinctly names himself as a Scot, who had printed it with careful revision * The place of publication was not told, but it was probably Rouen This was a book by John de Garlandia, an Englishman, born about the year 1180, who after his first training at Oxford went to Paris and made France his home, distinguished himself as a grammarian, produced a dictionary that was widely used, and had many works ascribed to him—poetical, grammatical, alchemical, mathematical, and musical In a Latin poem of his, containing five or six thousand lines, on the " Triumphs of the Church,"† he describes himself as one—

> " Anglia cui mater fuerat, cui Gallia nutrix,
> Matri nutricem præfero mente meam "

So John de Garlandia lost his place among us, and is only now remembered by the way when the first Scottish printer—two years before he brought presses and workmen

* This is the colophon " Libro qui vocorum quorundam vocabulorum secundum alphabeti una cum interpretatione Anglie lingue finis impositus est feliciter quam Andreas Myllar scotus mira arte imprimi ac diligenti studio corrigi orthographieque stilo prout facultas suppetebat enucleatumque sollicitus fuit Anno christiane redemptionis Mill esimo quingintesimo quinto " Quoted through the little tractate by Robert Dickson, F S A , entitled, "Who was Scotland's First Printer? Ane Compendious and breue Tractate in Commendation of Androw Myllar London, 1881," which contains the facts above stated

† "John de Garlandia, De Triumphis Ecclesiæ, Libri Octo " A Latin Poem of the Thirteenth Century Edited from the British Museum MS by Thomas Wright, 1856 Roxburghe Club Presented by the Earl of Powys

(probably from Rouen) into Edinburgh—is found printing his "Equivoca"

Few of the first books printed by Chepman and Myllar have come down to us The volume of pieces of verse bound together, which includes poems of Dunbar printed in 1508, does not consist throughout of perfect copies * The two volumes of the *Breviarium Aberdonense*, published at Edinburgh in 1509 and 1510, are said to have been printed at the command and expense of Walter Chepman, with whose name that of Andrew Myllar was no longer joined Having supplied presses and workmen, and stayed long enough to bring the Edinburgh printing office into working order, Myllar may have gone back to his old work at Rouen, or he may have slipped into his old position as foreman of works, or he may have died soon after 1508 Myllar and Chepman represented to each other, like Gutenberg and Faust, labour and capital, but there is no evidence that Myllar was unfairly used

Dunbar's Earlier Poems

The eleven pieces of Chepman and Myllar's printing which are bound together in the volume now in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh are (1) three leaves of "The Porteous of Nobleness, translatit out of Franche in Scottis be Maister Andrew Cadiou," (2) "The Knightly Tale of Golagros and Gawayne," (3) "Sir Eglamour of Arteys," (4) Dunbar's "Golden Terge," (5) a fragment of "Ane Buk of Gud Counsale to the king how to reull his Realme," (6) "The Maying or Disport of Chaucer," which is Lydgate's "Complaint of the Black Knight," (7) "The Flyting of Dunbar

* Fifty copies of the contents of this volume were printed at Glasgow in the year 1800, in black letter, with woodcuts in facsimile of the trade marks of Chepman and Myllar when they occur in the original Chepman's trade mark seems to have been brought to him from France by Myllar It is said to be an imitation of the mark of Philippe Pigouchet in Paris

and Kennedy," (8) "The Traitie of Orpheus King," by Robert Henryson, (9) "The Ballad of Lord Barnard Stewart," by Dunbar, (10) "The tua Maryit Wemen and the Wedo," with "The Lament for the Makers," "The Ballad of Kind Kittock," and "The Testament of Andrew Kennedy," all by Dunbar, (11) "A Gest of Robyn Hode," an imperfect copy of the same "lyttell geste" that Wynken de Worde printed in London in 1488 When this volume was given to the Library of the Faculty of Advocates by a medical gentleman of Edinburgh, who had picked it up somewhere in Ayrshire, and knew nothing of its history or value, Dunbar was little known The volume caused nearer attention to be paid to the pieces assigned to Dunbar in manuscript collections of old Scottish poetry made, for their own pleasure, by John Asloan in 1515, George Bannatyne in 1568,* about the same time by Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, and by John Reidpeth in 1623 †

* "E. W" vi 257*n*

† Allan Ramsay, in 1724, founded on George Bannatyne's MS his "Evergreen, a collection of Scots Poems wrote by the Ingenious before 1600" Sir David Dalrymple (Lord Hailes) published in 1770 "Ancient Scottish Poems" from Bannatyne's MS, in 1786 John Pinkerton edited, in two volumes, "Ancient Scottish Poems never before in print, but now published from the MS Collections of Sir Richard Maitland, of Lethington," and John Sibbald published in 1802, in four volumes, a "Chronicle of Scottish Poetry from the Thirteenth Century to the Union of the Crowns" In these volumes the pieces by Dunbar attracted more and more attention In 1834, David Laing first collected into two volumes, with Introduction, copious Notes, and a Glossary, all that he could find of Dunbar, and added a supplement in 1865, when he reissued the remainder of the two volumes, which he had withdrawn from sale in discontent at the small attention given to his labours The two volumes, with their supplement, were reissued at the price of £1 10s They were at once bought up, and became attainable only at three times that price In 1884 Dr J Schipper, Professor of English Philology at Vienna, published a full study of the poet, with much of his verse well translated into German "William Dunbar Sein Leben und seine Gedichte in Analysen und

While Chepman and Myllar's press in Edinburgh fixes the date of certain works of Dunbar before 1508, other considerations justify the dating of some pieces of his before the marriage of King James IV to the Princess Margaret of England, in 1503 The small pension of ten pound Scots, in the year 1500, given to Dunbar until he had a benefice, marked him as one attached to the Court, and "The Tod and the Lamb"—which describes figuratively an amour of the King's at Dunfermline, in terms little to his credit, though they would not have offended him—must have been written before 1503 After the King's marriage, whatever occasion he might give, such public comment would have been impossible Dunbar's "Dirige to the King at Stirling," on the lines of the Church funeral service, playfully seeks to bring him out of Purgatory at Stirling into Paradise at Edinburgh But the Court is painted as a Paradise of Men Had the King been married, the poet, who paid frequent honour to Queen Margaret, would not have left her out of Paradise King James would hardly have taken her with him for religious exercises in his convent of Franciscans at Stirling The ground is not quite so sure when, for their style or matter, other pieces of Dunbar's are placed in the years before 1503—as his "Brash of Wowing," for its resemblance in metre and in tone of thought to "The Tod and the Lamb," the "New Year's Gift to the King" and the poem of "Solistaris at Court" for their yet undisturbed faith in the King's willingness to

ausgewahlten Uebersetzungen, nebst einem Abriss dei altschottischen Poesie Ein Beitrag zur schottisch-englischen Literatur-und Culturgeschichte" To carry on the study of Dunbar, the reader should use Professor Schipper's volume together with Laing's edition of the works Schipper is very helpful in suggestions towards the dating of many of the poems, for which I am much indebted to him in the text A new edition of Dunbar's Poems was begun in 1884 by John Small, M A, the editor of Gavin Douglas, for the Early Scottish Text Society

help the poet The piece on the power of "Lady Solistaris" in advancing suits at Court, the "Tidings from the Session," the poem "to the Merchants of Edinburgh," in which some chief features of Old Edinburgh are vividly described," and "The Devil's Inquest," a poem against profane swearing by all classes of men, with Mahoun's burden to each, "Renounce thy God and come to me," are also said to have been written in this earlier time

"The Tua Maryit Wemen and the Wedo"

To the same time has been ascribed the poem of "The Tua Maryit Wemen and the Wedo," chiefly because it is in unrhymed alliterative measure, for it is imagined that in later life Dunbar would have been too much under the influence of later forms of verse to think of using the old measure, which had lingered long among the people There is too much of mere opinion in that argument Opinion blows from all points of the compass, and it may not be a fact that if the story of "The Freirs of Berwik" be not by Dunbar, it is by no other Scottish poet whose works have come down to us So I believe, and yet it may have had for author one of the men whom we know only for the repute they had as poets, but whose writings are almost or altogether lost We know no one but Dunbar who could have written a comic tale with Chaucer's pen

"The Tua Maryit Wemen and the Wedo" is a piece of five hundred and thirty lines, and it is much longer than any other poem ascribed to Dunbar except "The Freirs of Berwik," which is in five hundred and eighty-two lines "The Freirs of Berwik" is in Chaucer's rhyming couplets of ten-syllabled lines, the "riding rhyme" of the "Canterbury Tales" "The Tua Maryit Wemen and the Wedo"* is written in the old national unrhymed measure with triple

* Found only in Sir Richard Maitland's MS, and there ascribed to Dunbar, before the discovery of the printed edition, where the piece is said to be "compylit by Maister William Dunbar"

alliteration, that was used by Langland in "The Vision of Piers Plowman," and by the author of "Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight" and the poem of "The Pearl," whom a good English scholar is now hoping to identify with Chaucer's friend, Ralph Strode But Dunbar exaggerates in this poem the alliteration, by often playing upon the same letter through a second line, sometimes also through a third line, and even a fourth Often, also, there are four instead of three alliterations in a line Thus, the poet says that he went alone, near midnight on Midsummer Eve,

> "Beside ane GUDLIE GIENE GARTH full of GAY flouris
> HEGEIT of ane HUGE HICHT with HAWTHORN treis"

Then follow, concerning the hawthorn-trees that enclosed the flower gardens, two successive lines each with the same letter in triple alliteration—

> "Quhairon ane BIRD, on ane BRANSCHE, so BIRST out his notis,
> That never ane BLYTHFULLAR BIRD was on the BEUCHE harde" *

Two more such couplets follow, the second of them having quadruple alliteration—

> "Quhat through the SUGARIT SOUND of hir SANG glaid,
> And through the SAVOUR SANATIVE of the SUEIT flouris
> I DREW in DERNE to the DYK to DIRKIN eftir mirthis,
> The DEW DONKIT the DAILL, and DYNARIT the foulis" †

Then follow four lines, with a run of as many as thirteen alliterations on the letter h—

> "I HARD, under ane HOLYN HEVINLY grein HEWIT ‡
> An HIE speiche, at my HAND, with HAUTAND wourdis,

* *On the beuche harde*, heard on the bough

† *In derne*, in secret, *dyk*, fence, *donkit*, moistened, made dank, *dynarit the foulis*, gave drink to the birds The Celtic "dinim means, "I drink, imbibe, suck" (Windisch)

‡ Under a holly, heavenly green of hue

> With that in Haist to the Hege so Hard I inthrang,
> That I was Heildit * with Hawthorne and with Heynd leivis "

Then after two lines of triple alliteration, both on the same letter, there occurs another run of four lines with twelve alliterations of a single letter, g—

> " Through Pykis of the Plet thorne I Presandlie luikit,
> Gif ony Persoun would apProche † within that Pleasand garding
> I saw Thre Gay Ladeis sit in ane Grene arbeir,
> All Grathit in to Garlandes of fresche Gudelie flouris ,
> So Glitterit as the Gold were thair Glorius Gilt tressis,
> Quhill all the Gressis did Gleme of the Glad hewis " ‡

The poem proceeds to describe the three fair ladies exchanging confidences over the wine-cup as they sit among the flowers in their arbour, and they become visible as if Titian had painted them Dunbar was not the only poet of his time in Scotland who made skilful and free use of colour in descriptions of nature The suggestion in the line last quoted that the green grass by the golden tresses of the ladies " did gleme of the glad hewis," is an illustration of artistic breadth of touch and sense of harmonies in use of colour The talk of the three women is set between an opening and closing picture of midsummer night and dewy morning These pictures represent delightfully a pleasant feature of old Scottish poetry, that gave to other minds the poet's joy in glow or glitter of light on rising mists, on clouds and running streams, in dewdrops on green leaves, in shades and colours of the morning and the evening

The three fair women in the arbour talk freely to one

* *Heildit*, covered over, concealed , *heynd*, handy

† It will be remembered here that, from Anglo Saxon times, in words with a prefix alliteration was on the first letter, not of the prefix, but of the main root word "E W " ii 17—19

‡ This exuberance once extends even to the interweaving of two triplets of alliteration through words of a single line " That Nature *f*ull Nobillie anNamelit *f*ine with *f*louris "

another Wine has taken from them the last feeble instinct of reserve Tell, said the widow to the young wives, what ye think of marriage, or if ever ye loved anyone more than the husband ye are bound to, or if ye think ye could choose better if ye chose again, or if ye bless the bond that can be undone only by death The answers of the two wives show them wantons One would there were no marriages for longer than a year, and tells how she deals with her husband, who is old and weak The other tells how she deals with a young husband, weak through vice The widow tells, in her turn, how she has dealt with two husbands, and now, while she plays the part of the disconsolate in church, peeps through her cloaks and casts kind looks to knights and clerks and courtly persons

The confessions over which the "Tua Maryit Wemen and the Wedo" make merry together are all of a dishonest wantonness, and, though set forth with lively humour, they are not—though it is often said they are—of the same kind as those of Chaucer's Wife of Bath The Wife of Bath was, indeed, Chaucer's picture of the fleshly side of womanhood, prompt to replace one husband with another, but she was a good-humoured, honest animal, and when one of her husbands troubled her with jealousy she made him a cross of his own wood, and set him, as she says, to fry in his own grease, without being unfaithful to him as a wife If the Wife of Bath had been fourth of that company in the arbour, the poet in the hawthorn hedge would have seen that she liked the wine, and that she laughed a little at the ladies' jokes, until she shook her head over them, presently looked grave, and ended by giving the three fair companions a stout bit of her mind Chaucer, as we have seen, had reverence for womanhood Dunbar's known works are comparatively few—much that he wrote may have been lost, but in what we have, there is enough to suggest the small reverence in which women were held at the Court of James IV of Scot-

land Dunbar, as a priest, was unmarried He had learnt little of the worth of women when a friar, and at Court the King's example made, in this respect, bad worse James IV was liked by his people, and in many ways deserved to be so He had most of the popular virtues, and the one popular vice Its prevalence is shown even in the old ballads which, together with all that is good in the spirit of the people, very often reflect stained images of maidenly discretion Dunbar's poems reproduce, in the same way, the features of the time He liked the young Queen Margaret, paid her much honour in his verse, and described whimsically a dance in the Queen's chamber, wherein he himself took part, "a mirrear dance mycht na man see" But her after-story showed Queen Margaret to be of one blood with her brother Henry VIII in readiness for change of yokefellow Dunbar also wrote a poem "In Praise of Women," but the ground of praise is that they are the mothers of men, and that the Virgin Mary was a woman And so did Walter Kennedy He wrote, also, "Ane Ballat in praise of our Lady," but his thoughts then were beyond the spheres

Later years of Dunbar

Dunbar's poems show, simply and clearly, his position at the Court of James IV He had renounced the Franciscan habit, but remained a servant of the Church He was Master of Arts in the first Scottish University, was widely travelled, was wit, poet, and priest For his knowledge of languages he had been attached as secretary to an embassy or two, and had even been to the Court of Ferdinand and Isabella At Edinburgh the young King, who wrote verse himself, liked Dunbar's wit, saw him willingly, was familiar with him, and heard his occasional request for a benefice that would give him some small income of his own, would also give him duties suited to his office, which he wished religiously to perform He saw idle ministers to the King's pleasures—flatterers, pretenders to the power of multiplying gold by alchemy—supplied with

incomes from the Church But although the Queen spoke for him—and in one poem he told the King he wished "that he was John Thomsounis Man," which was old Scottish for a husband who obeys his wife—no benefice was given by James IV to Dunbar He had the right of a courtier to feed at the King's cost—the Bouge of Court—but for income he depended on chance gifts from the King or other patrons, gifts even of clothes, and he could not be his own man in any other way than by becoming free to leave the Court and serve God in his office as a priest After many years of waiting, Dunbar, in a poem to the King, with the refrain, "Excess of thocht dois me mischeif," compares the hope for him in his childhood with his present want —

> "I wes in youth on nurciss kne
> Dandely! Bischop, dandely!
> And quhen that age now dois me greif
> Ane sempill Vicar I can nochte be
> Excess of thocht dois me mischeif"

In another poem to the King, on "the Warldis Instabilitie," Dunbar says that while some have seven benefices and he not one, some climb to be cardinals and bishops—

> "Unworthie I, among the laif,
> Ane Kirk dois crave and nane can haif"

And later, in the same poem, he says that he wants no great abbey, but a little church, to do his duty in—

> "Greit Abbais grayth I nill to gather,
> But ane Kirk scant coverit with hadder,*
> For I of lytill wald be fane,
> Quhilk to considder is ane pane
>
> "And for my curis in sundrie place,
> With help, Schir, of your nobill Grace,
> My sillie saule sall ne'er be slane,
> Na for sic syn to suffer pane"

* *Hadder*, heather

He wearied of the world in which he was compelled to live, but took its crosses cheerfully, and from time to time, in deeply spiritual poems, he shaped into music the true wisdom of life—

"Quho suld for tynsall drowp or de*
For thyng that is bot vanitie,
Sen to the lyfe that evii dois lest
Heir is bot twynklyng of an ee
For to be blyth me think it best

"Had I for warldis unkyndness
In hairt tane ony haviness,
Or fro my plesans bene opprest,
I had bene deid lang syne dowtless
For to be blyth me think it best

"How evir this warld do change and vary,
Let us in hairt nevir moir be sary,
Bot evir be reddy and addrest
To pass out of this frawful fary †
For to be blyth me think it best"

The King, no doubt, gratified himself by keeping Dunbar at his Court In the accounts of the Lord Treasurer there is entry of the King's offering of seven French crowns "at Maister William Dunbar's first mass," showing that the poet sometimes exercised a priest's office at Court His pension of ten pound Scots seems to have been doubled in 1507, and on the 26th of August, 1510, it was raised to eighty pounds, with record of extra payments, at Christmas, 1511, of £12 10s for six ells and a quarter to make him a gown of Paris black, and £3 2s 6d for five quarters of scarlet, his Yule livery

James IV was slain in the battle of Flodden Field on the 9th of September, 1513 From the 8th of August in that year to June, 1515, there are no extant accounts of the Lord

* Who should droop or die for a loss?

† *Frawful fary*, froward tumult, *evir*, *nevir*, pronounced *e'er*, *ne'er*.

High Treasurer of Scotland, and after June, 1515, the name of Dunbar does not occur in them There is no positive evidence that he was alive after the summer of 1513 He may, with the rest of the Court, have accompanied the King to his last battle, and remained among the dead upon the field There is a poem addressed to the widowed Queen, after the battle, to which no writer's name is attached If Dr Laing was right in assigning it to Dunbar, and also "Ane Orisoun when the Governour" (John Duke of Albany) "past into France," then Dunbar was alive in 1517 If so, the ceasing of his pension may imply fulfilment of the common condition that it was payable till his promotion to a benefice, and it has been supposed that his more deeply religious poems, and especially his "Manner of Passing to Confession" and his "Table of Confession"—which bring out all that is best and purest in that practice of the Church—were written in Dunbar's last years, when he was quietly devoting himself to the care of souls Sir David Lindsay named him among dead poets in 1530

Dunbar himself records the names of dead poets in his "Lament for the Makars," printed in 1508 To the portion of his life between the date of the King's marriage in 1503, and the setting up of Chepman and Myllar's press in 1508, there belongs one of Dunbar's best pieces, "The Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins," for the first stanza of that poem assigns the dance to Fastern's Eve—Shrove Tuesday—on the 15th of February Fastern's Eve fell on that date in 1496, 1507, and 1518, and of these dates only one is possible With the vigorous homeliness a certain coarseness was then often associated—coarseness which was not immorality, but consisted in plain utterance of truths belonging to the grosser side of life This was common in Dunbar's humorous poetry It was used with noble purpose in his "Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins," written in 1507, a piece

"Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins"

in which new life was given to the old forms of allegorical poetry by the genius of a master On the festival night before Lent, Dunbar saw heaven and hell, in a trance, and it seemed to him that Mahoun called for a dance among the fiends As the Seven Deadly Sins joined in the dancing, the allegorical description of each one became vivid with intensity of life, and was realised to the imaginations of the people by a profound earnestness expressed with playful humour This poem was followed by one purely humorous, which described another of the sports called for by Mahoun, "The Joust between the Tailor and the Soutar" (shoemaker) And this, again, was followed by an ironical "Amends to the Tailors and Soutars," with the refrain, "Tailors and soutars, blest be ye!" which was but a new form of "flyting" You tailors and soutars can shape anew a misfashioned man, cover with crafts a broken back, mend ill-made feet—

"Joust between the Tailor and the Soutar"

> "In erd ye kyth sic miracles here
> In heaven ye sall be sancts full clear,
> Though ye be knaves in this countrie
> Tailors and soutars, blest be ye!"

Humour abounded, but it was the humour of a man essentially earnest No poet from Chaucer till his own time equalled Dunbar in the range of genius He could pass from broad jest to a pathos truer for its homeliness, he had a play of fancy reaching to the nobler heights of thought, a delicacy joined with a terse vigour of expression in short poems that put the grace of God into their worldly wisdom

"The Fenyeit Freir of Tungland" is a satire of Dunbar's on a pretender who obtained substantial preferment from James IV The poem is especially a jest on his attempt to fly The attempt was made in September or October, 1507, and the piece must have

"The Fenyeit Freir of Tungland"

been written between that time and September, 1508, when the charlatan obtained five years' leave of absence, without prejudice to his income "anent the Abbey and place of Tungland" This man was John Damian, of Lombardy, who had practised medicine and surgery in France, and came to Scotland in 1501, where he fastened as a foreign leech on James IV He persuaded the King to a faith in alchemy, professed that he was discovering the quintessence and could multiply gold, whereby he caused his Majesty to set up an alchemist's furnace at Stirling, and gave occasion for many entries in the Treasurer's accounts of money paid to "the French Leich" He also played cards with his Majesty Early in 1504, the King made this leech Abbot of Tungland, in Galloway In September, 1507, the Abbot of Tungland undertook to fly into France upon an errand of the King's, with wings made for the purpose, and be there before the King's messengers He did really put on his wings, launched into air from the walls of Stirling Castle, fell to earth, and broke his thigh This, he said, was because feathers of barn-door fowl, which naturally seek the soil, had been mixed with the feathers in the wings made for him Had all been eagles' feathers, he would have soared high Dunbar made merry with the false abbot in his character of a strange bird, and in another poem, on "The Birth of Antichrist," he told the King that Fortune had appeared to him in a dream, and said that he should never rise upon her wheel or have a benefice until an abbot clothed himself with eagle's wings, flew into the air among the cranes, rose as a horrible griffin, met a dragon in the air with whom he begot Antichrist, and came down with Simon Magus, and Mahoun, and Jonet on her besom, and a troop of witches, to preach that the reign of Antichrist was come—

> "Within my hairt comfórt I tuke full sone,
> Adew, quoth I, my drery dayis ar done,

> Full weill I wist to me would never cum thrift,
> Quhill that twa mones were sene up in the lift,
> Or quhill an Abbot flew aboif the mone "

Another of the King's constant companions was Thomas Nornee—Sir Thomas Norray—one of his Majesty's fools, whose fame Dunbar celebrated in kindly burlesque But there is true eulogy in welcome of the brave French knight, with Stuart ancestors, Bernard Lord Aubigny, who had fought on Richmond's side at Bosworth Field He came to Scotland on the 9th of May, 1508, and Dunbar's "Welcome" to him was at once added to the pieces then being printed by Chepman and Myllar He came an old man, in weak health, and died at Edinburgh within a month William Dunbar then wrote his elegy

Knights of the Carpet and the Field

"The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy" was also before 1508

Walter Kennedy, third son of Gilbert, first Lord Kennedy, was born in Ayrshire, and bred for the Church He graduated in 1476 as Bachelor of Arts in the University of Glasgow, which was not much older than himself, and became Master of Arts in 1478 He travelled abroad, he was sometimes with his kindred at Carrick, and he, like Dunbar, was at the Court of James IV —

"The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy"

> "Trusting to have of his magnificence
> Guerdon, reward, and benefice bedene "

He obtained high credit as a poet, but few of his pieces are known to remain The chief of them is a long religious poem of 1,715 lines, upon "The Passion of Christ." It begins, after a Prelude, with the Fall of Man Mercy and Pity, Truth and Justice, reason, as in the old Miracle Plays, before the throne of God Then Christ reconciles Justice

with Mercy by becoming the Saviour of Man He is born of the Virgin Incidents of His life are set forth leading to the Cross and Passion, upon which the poet chiefly dwells In Dunbar's "Lament for the Makars," written when he himself "was seik," Walter Kennedy is spoken of with kindly sympathy as at the point of death, and there is no evidence that he was living after 1508 "The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy" was nothing singular In Italy, Luigi Pulci and Matteo Franco, while excellent friends, had amused their neighbours with a like ingenuity of invective Dunbar challenges, through Sir John Ross Kennedy accepts the challenge, and the fray begins This metrical scolding-match belongs to a form of literature descended from the "tenson" or "jeu parti" of early Provençal poetry The tenson was a song in dialogue of contention which found its way into European literature from wit-combats of the Arabs on nice points of love and philosophy But the fifteenth century advanced by many ways to a rough heartiness in dealing with realities of life Thus, in a "flyting"—which takes its name from our old name for contention, "flít"—the two poets, who, if they had lived some centuries earlier, would, through a tenson, have been attacking and defending castles in the air, were down upon earth belabouring each other with the pen as heartily as if they had come into the tilt-yard and the pens were lances, with which they were engaged each in the playful endeavour to knock down his friend

Walter Kennedy acquired, in 1504, the Lairdship of Glentig, to which reference is made in the Flyting, therefore it was between this date and 1508 that Dunbar and Kennedy taxed their ingenuity in the grotesque heaping upon one another of all terms of abuse that could be squeezed out of a mother-tongue not ill provided in that way Kennedy twice called Dunbar "Lollard," but he seems to have taken that word, like any other, because it

was a good hard word of reproach, though Dunbar's bad opinion of the Friars might have suggested it

Dunbar's "Lament for the Makars"—poets—is a poet's Dance of Death, that shows, with clear reminder of the images upon church walls, how death comes to the knight in the field, to the babe at the breast, the lord with his puissance, the clerk with his learning —

"Lament for the Makars"

> "Unto the Deid gois all Estatis,
> Princis, Prellatis, and Potestatis,
> Baith rich and puire of all degre
> *Timor mortis conturbat me*"

This burden—"The fear of death disquiets me"—had been used before by Lydgate and others,* but it is used with especial emphasis in this poem of Dunbar's Warm with religious feeling and a sense of human fellowship, speaking high thought in homely phrase, with a true poet's blending of pathos and good humour, the "Lament for the Makars" bows to the supremacy of death, while Dunbar dwells kindly on the memory of poets who have died before him —

> "And he has now ta'en last of aw
> Gude gentle Stobo, and Quintine Schaw,
> Of whom all wichtis has pitie
> *Timor mortis conturbat me*
>
> "Gude Maister Walter Kennedy
> In point of deid lies verily;
> Great ruth it were that so suld be
> *Timor mortis conturbat me*"
>
> "Sen he has all my Brether tane,
> He will nocht lat me leif alane,
> On forse I mon his nyxt pray be.
> *Timor mortis conturbat me*
>
> "Sen for the Deid † remeid is none,
> Best is that we for deid dispone,

* "E W" vi 231

† *Deid*, death, *leif*, live

Eftir our deid that leif may we
Timor mortis conturbat me "

This is Dunbar's list of the dead poets —Chaucer, Lydgate, Gower, "The good Sir Hugh of Eglinton"—that is, Huchowne, author of the "Morte Arthure"*—Etrik, Heriot, and Wyntoun Of Etrik there is nothing known Dr Laing suggests that the name may be a misprint for 'and eik,' *et* being used as short for *and* But, since no more is known of Heriot than of Etrik, we may as well take Etrik also as the name of an old poet whose works are lost Wyntoun, of course, is Andrew of Wyntoun, Prior of St Serf's Inch at Lochleven, and author of the "Orygynal Cronikyl"† "Maister John Clerk and James Afflek" Nothing is known of John Clerk's verse James Affleck is Maister James Achlik or Auchinleck, servitor to the Earl of Ross He was in holy orders, and by his death left vacant, in 1497, the Chantry of Caithness, which the King then gave to James Beaton A poem called "The Quair of Jealousy," among the Selden MSS,‡ has after it "Explicit quod Auchin ," and is probably one of his

Dunbar's List of Dead Poets

James Auchinleck

"Holland and Barbour he has berevit,
Allace! that he nocht with us levit,
Schir Mungo Lokert of the Le
Timor mortis conturbat me "

Holland was Richard Holland, called Sir Richard, as a priest, who followed the fortunes of the House of Douglas, and was one of three named as sworn Englishmen who were shut out from the pardon offered in March, 1482, to those adherents of the Earl of Douglas who would return to their allegiance Richard

Holland's "Howlat"

* "E W" vi 237—244 † "E W" vi 49—56
‡ Arch B 24

Holland wrote, about 1450, a poem called "The Howlat," with its scene laid in the forest of Ternoway It is a long fable in elaborate rhymed stanzas, with alliteration The Howlat, not content with his own feathers asks the Peacock, who is Pope of the birds, to solicit Nature on his behalf The Bird-Pope calls a General Council, at which it is resolved to apply to the temporal power for assistance The Swallow is sent as a herald to the Eagle, who is Bird-Emperor, and lives in the Tower of Babylon He sets out on his progress with many attendants, and the Woodpecker, his pursuivant, showing the arms of the Pope, the German Emperor, the King of France, and the King of Scotland Then follows a digression in honour of the Douglases, before the spiritual and temporal powers meet and agree to petition Nature for a reconstruction of the Owl Nature then adorns him with the finest feathers taken from the other birds, whereupon the Howlat becomes so insufferably proud that the other birds complain to Nature, who puts him back into his original condition He delivers then a lesson against pride The poem contains an incidental prediction that the King of Scotland should, as heir of St Margaret, rule over broad Britain everywhere—

> "Our soueraine of Scotland his armes to knawe
> Quhilk sall be lord and ledar
> Our braid Brettane all quhar
> As Sanct Margaretis air,
> And the signe schawe *

Barbour was John Barbour, author of "The Bruce"† In the *Acta Dominorum Concilii* of February 27th, 1489, there is mention of the spouse of umquhile Sir Mongo

* Sir Richard Holland's "Book of the Howlat" was presented in an edition of 70 copies by David Laing to the Bannatyne Club, in 1823

† "E W" vi 1—44

Lokart, knight, and of Robert Lokart of the Lee, his son and heir In October, 1493, James Lokart is spoken of as heir to the late Robert We know only from the place given to him in Dunbar's "Lament for the Makars" that Sir Mungo Lokart was a poet

> "Clerk of Tranent eik he has tane,
> That maid the awnteris of Gawayne"

Clerk of Tranent, "Gawayne and Golagros"

These lines may give us the name of the author of "Gawayne and Golagros," one of the poems printed in 1508 by Chepman and Myllar "Gawayne and Golagros" was a recent romance in rhymed stanzas of thirteen lines, with full alliteration It told two adventures of Gawayn, which were drawn, with variation in the names and in some other respects, from the romance of "Perceval," by Chrestien of Troyes —

"*Golagros and Gawayne*"

When King Arthur was marching to Toscana with his army to take ship for the Holy Land, they came to a town, and Sir Kay was sent to ask supply of provisions Sir Kay passed through an open door of the castle, entered a great empty hall, and found his way to a fire at which a dwarf was roasting birds upon a spit Sir Kay took from the spit a piece of swan The dwarf was angry, the lord of the castle came out, Kay answered rudely to his rebuke, and the lord of the castle knocked him down Kay went back and reported that there was nothing to be had in that place Gawayne said, Sir Kay is crabbed of kind "I rede ye mak furth ane man meker of mude" Arthur sent Gawayne, who found a hall full of fair company, and did his errand courteously The lord of the castle said he would not sell provisions, he would give them—all he had was at King Arthur's disposal An unmannerly knight had been there, if he was of Arthur's company, amends should be made for the hurt done him Then Gawayne brought King Arthur into the castle, where not only food was to be had, but support of another thirty thousand men to his army

Arthur then marches on, and comes to the castle of Golagros, a strong chief who owns no man as his lord, and whose forefathers have in like manner held their own Arthur resolves to subdue him when he

comes back from the Holy Land He comes back, plants his tent before the castle, and sends to Golagros, as his messengers, Gawayne, Lancelot, and Sir Ewin They are courteous, and Golagros receives them with an equal courtesy He will be friendly, but he will preserve his freedom When Arthur hears this he lays siege to the castle, and the poem tells of many knightly passages of arms At last Golagros himself enters the field, and Gawayne is sent to fight with him Stout battle is described Presently Golagros is down, and he must yield or die He is too proud to yield, and Gawayne is unwilling that so brave a man shall die "How can I save you?" Gawayne asks "There is only one way," Golagros replies "Seem to be overcome, and follow me into my castle I will repay you" Gawayne said, "I will trust you" He let Golagros rise, they seemed to continue battle, and then Gawayne followed Golagros into the castle, as if he were prisoner There was grief in Arthur's camp, festival in the Castle of Golagros At the feast Golagros asked his assembled friends whether they would have him still for chief, if he had been overcome by Gawayne Always our chief, they said He told them what had happened, and because Gawayne had been courteous to him in the hour of his triumph, and had trusted him, he could resist no more He would be Gawayne's man "Let us all go to King Arthur, and make submission" Arthur's people were alarmed when they saw the power of the enemy advancing from the castle But Arthur and his knights were told what had happened, were bidden to feast, and feasted nine days in the castle And Arthur, at departing, said to Golagros "I release you of allegiance By sea and land be free as I first found you"

These two lessons in the knightly strength of courtesy—the second rising higher than the first—were no doubt "The Awnteris of Gawane," written not long before 1508 by Clerk, of Tranent, a parish and town nine or ten miles from Edinburgh *

* Chepman and Myllar's edition of "Golagros and Gawayne" was printed in 1792 by Pinkerton in his collection of Scottish poems, and it was included in 1839 by Sir Frederic Madden in a volume printed for the Bannatyne Club "Syr Gawayne, a collection of ancient romance-poems by Scotish and English authors relating to that celebrated Knight of the Round Table" A full study of the text, together with the text itself, was contributed in 1878 to *Anglia* (Vol II, pp 395 to 440) by Moritz Trautmann In comment on the changes made in names of persons of the story, Dr Trautmann suggests that the name Golagros,

"Schir Gilbert Hay endit hes he" Sir Gilbert Hay was chamberlain to Charles VI of France, and a diligent translator from the French There was found in the library of the Earl of Ormelie a transcript made before 1579 from a copy written in 1499 of a translation of the French metrical romance of Alexander in 20,000 lines, completed by Sir Gilbert Hay in 1460

Sir Gilbert Hay

> "He hes Blind Hary and Sandy Traill
> Slaine with his schot of mortal haill,
> Quhilk Patrik Johnstoune micht not fle"

Blind Harry* needs no interpretation Of Alexander Traill no trace has yet been found, but Patrick Johnstoun appears in the Treasurer's Accounts from 1488 to 1492 as one who received, together with the players, payment for plays before the king In the Bannatyne MS there is one piece ascribed to him, "The three deid Powis" (death's heads) They speak their warning to lusty youth the white and red, the bright eyes and the crimpled hair, shall come to this, "Behold our heidis, O lusty gallands gay!"

Patrick Johnstoun

> "He has reft Merseir his endyte,
> That did in luve so lifly write,
> So schort, so quyk, of sentence hie"

Mersar was praised also by Lindsay, but even his Christian name is unknown, and of all his poems only four stanzas remain against false lovers, with the refrain, "Such peril lies in paramours"—"Sic perrell lyis in paramouris"

Mersar

applied to the free chieftain, who is called by Chrestien of Troyes, in the romance of "Percival," "li Rices Sodoiers," and is there said to live in "li Castiaus Orguellous," is a corruption of that word "Orguellous" Sir Frederick Madden had suggested some affinity to the name Galagars in Sir Thomas Malory

* "E W" vi 244—250

" He hes tane Roull of Aberdene,
And gentill Roull of Corstorphene ,
Twa better fallowis did no man se
Timor mortis conturbat me "

Time also has destroyed their works, unless a Sir John Rowl be one of them, who wrote the poem called " Rowlis Cursing," which was among the pieces copied by George Bannatyne

" In Dunfermline he hes tane Broun,
With Maister Robert Henrison "

William Brown John Ross

In Chepman and Myllar's first print of the " Lament for the Makars," " tane Broun " stands as " doun roune," which would mean " whispered in the ear " of Robert Henryson But there are in the Bannatyne MS two transcripts of a poem on " Judgment to Come," by William Brown, who is once called "Sir," as being a priest Robert Henryson we know * "Schir Johne the Ross embraist hes he" Here, also, " Sir " probably indicates one in religious orders He was a friend of Dunbar's, and it was through him that Dunbar challenged Kennedy to the Flyting There may be faint traces of him in the Treasurer's accounts of 1490 and 1498 No verse of his is known

" And he hes now tane, last of aw,
Gud gentill Stobo, and Quintin Schaw "

Stobo

Stobo was the name given at Court to John Reid, who served as writer and notary public in the reigns of James II , James III , and James IV He had a ten-pound pension, which James III made twenty pounds, " dilecto nostro familiari servitori et scribe, Johani Red, nuncupato Stobo " In 1488 and 1491, as a witness to charters, he is described also as Rector of Christ's Kirk No verse of his is known He may have been called

* " E W " vi 250 –257

Stobo from connection with a place of that name on the Tweed, five miles from Peebles

Quintin Schaw is named by Gavin Douglas in his "Palace of Honour" as "Quintin the Poet," worthy to be joined with Dunbar and Kennedy in the Court of the Muses There remains of him only one poem of six stanzas, "Advice to a Courtier" He was the son of a John Shaw, of Haily, in Ayrshire, who had been an ambassador to Denmark, in 1469, touching the marriage of James III Quintin Shaw's name often appears in the Treasurer's accounts as one living at Court, receiving grants for dress, and having a pension of ten pounds Thus, for his soul's utterance as well as for his body's presence in this world, many an old Scottish poet has had reason to say, "Timor mortis conturbat me" Dunbar himself but narrowly escaped oblivion

Quintin Shaw

Pieces of which the writers are unknown were referred to by Dunbar and Douglas Some of the pieces are no longer to be found, but we still have the tales of

Popular Tales

> "Raf Coilyear with his thrawin brow,
> Craibit Johne the Reif, and auld Cowkelpie's sow" *

"*The Taill of Rauf Coilyear, how he harbreit King Charles*" † is a comic tale of chivalry in long rhymed stanzas, with alliteration Charlemagne, while hunting, is separated from his followers, meets Ralph the Collier on a moor, and is driven by a storm to accept his rude hospitality In entering the house and at table the collier gives Charlemagne rough lessons in politeness, and after the second lesson knocks his majesty down with a stroke under the ear Then he gives him a good supper of venison, and cares little for the foresters, who threaten to carry him some day to Paris When he asks his guest's name and where he lives, he is told that it is Wymond of the Wardrobe, and that he belongs to the queen's chamber Next morning Charlemagne departs, and, as the collier will take no payment, he is invited to come next

* Douglas's "Palice of Honour"

† A copy of this tale, as printed at St Andrews in 1572, is in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh

day to the palace with a load of coal When he comes, Roland is sent out to meet him and bring him to Court His rough manners on the way lead to the promise of a fight on the morrow between collier and paladin Through sundry difficulties Ralph makes his way into the presence-chamber, and knows Wymond through all his golden clothes When the truth is out, Ralph is in fear for his life, but Charlemagne, praising him as "a stalwart man, and stout in striking," makes him a knight Equipped as a knight he goes out to his first feat of arms, a duel with Roland At the appointed place a great knight appears on a camel Ralph, supposing him to be Roland, couches his lance, and there begins fierce battle The great knight is the Saracen Magog, sent by the Cham of Tartary to declare war against France While the fight continues, Roland comes to keep his engagement The Saracen is persuaded to marry a French duchess, and become a Christian All three are made friends, and as for Sir Ralph, lately the Collier, he comes to be Marshal of France

"John the Reeve" was written when there were only three King Edwards in our history As the poem says—

> "Of that name there were kingis three,
> But Edward of the Long Shanks was he,
> A lord of great renown"

The story of

"John the Reeve"

professes to have been told in Scotland by a clerk who came out of Lancashire Edward I was out hunting when three falcons flew away, the company was parted, and the king at nightfall, in bad weather, found himself with no one near him but a bishop and an earl They saw riding away from them a stout carle with short, broad legs, thick, stiff shoes, and a rusty spur The earl asked courteously that he would take them to shelter of his house, and had a rough answer The bishop entreated, while the king and the earl laughed at his failure The king bade pull the man down, the carle said that when he saw them roune and reason he suspected them, but if they promised to do him no hurt he would gladly help them as far as he could He should be requited among lords, they said He answered that he had no mind to vail his hood or crouch to lords

> "The Kyng said curteouslye,
> 'What mannér of man are ye

At home in your dwelling?'
'A husbandman, forsooth, I am,
And the king's bondman,
Thereof I have good liking'"

He told his name, in answer to more questioning, described his life, and asked in return where his questioners lived The earl said that they lived in the king's house Their clothes are wet, but fuel is scant, he shall not be able to give them a fire, and it will hurt him should it come to knowledge of the king that there is poultry in his kitchen Then he led them to his hall, where four men took charge of the horses, a white-haired wife welcomed the guests, a fire was made, the horses were fed The guests were taken to a room where there was a charcoal fire, and candles were lighted Meanwhile, John pointed to the king, and asked of the earl, "Who is that long limbed fellow?" "That," said the earl, "is the queen's chief falconer, Pierce Payforall" "And who is he in the shirt?"—"He is a poor chaplain," said the earl, "and I am a sumpter man"—"Courtiers," said John, "proud lads, and I trow penniless" The king said, "So mote I thee, there's not a penny among us three to buy us bread and flesh"—"Aha!" said John, "I go in russet, and am worth more than a thousand pounds 'Tis well to be a bondman When I sit in tavern, I drink as good wine as Edward or his queen"—"You are a comely knight, John"—"No knight, but I will fight hand to hand whoever wrongs me" "Have you arms?—"A pitchfork with two prongs, a rusty sword and a knife, and yet I trow I can fight as well as thou, Pierce, with all thy painted gear But let us three fellows go to supper, and Pierce Payforall, the proudest, walk before" So they washed and went to supper, joined by John's two neighbours, Long Hobkin and Hob John placed the king, earl, and bishop with his wife and his two daughters, and himself sat at a side table with Hob and Hobkin The first service was of bean bread, rusty salt bacon, brewis, lean salt beef of a year old, and cold, sour ale The king did not like it John said if they got any other they must promise not to tell the king They promised, and were made merry with spiced bread and fine wine, boar's head, venison, capons, tarts, fruit, and other such fare This would content the king, said the guests "Were the king here," said John, "he should have none of it He would be wroth with John" They had a merry night —duly set forth in rhyme—slept in fine linen, and heard mass next morning, with boiled capons to follow

King Edward, returned to Windsor, told the queen what had happened, and at her request John the Reeve was bidden to come to

the king John sees care before him, but there is a burlesque description of his arming himself for the adventure, and drinking five gallons with Hob and Hobkin before he departs for Windsor There he is refused admission, charges the porter with his pitchfork, and rides into the king's hall holding his pitchfork as a lance Burlesque details make mirth over the situation, but John is knighted, has his house given to him with a hundred pounds a year, one of his sons knighted, the other made a parson of a kirk, and his two daughters married to two gay esquires Hobkin and Hob are made freemen, and John the Reeve keeps open house until he dies

This old popular tale belongs to a favourite form of ballad "King John and the Tanner of Tamworth" is another example of it, and repeats, indeed, one touch in "John the Reeve," who expects hanging when the king calls for a collar to make him a knight "After a collar a halter!" is the reflection of both Reeve and Tanner

There remains one other popular tale that was referred to by both Dunbar and Douglas as current in their time—

Cockelbie's Sow

This begins in a rambling measure, of short lines with alliteration, that has some relationship to the Skeltonic measure hereafter to be described, but the lines lengthen as the piece advances to its end

Cockelbie had a black sow, which he sold for threepence One of his pennies fell into a lake That penny was found by a poor person, who bought a pig with it She

"Wynnit near by
And scho wald mak at mangery,
And had no substance at all,
Bot this pur pig stall,
To furniss a gret feist,
Withoutin stufe bot his beist
And ȝit scho callit to hir cheir
On apostata freîr,
A peruerst pardoneir,
Ane practand palmeir,
A wich and a wobstare,
A myligant and a mychare,
A fond fule," *

* *Wynnit*, dwelt, *mak at*, aim at, *mangery*, a feast, *myligant*, a false person—Fr, *malegent*, *mychare*, a skulker

and so forth The odd guests come to make merry at the feast of pig, but the pig escapes, and lives to be a famous boar who fought with Meleager

The next fytte tells what came of Cockelbie's second penny Cockelbie walked one day by a river, and met a beautiful maiden, Adria, who led a blind old man She saluted Cockelbie innocently on her knee, and he gave the old man his second penny In return for it he got the maiden, who was married to his son Flammislie, a strong archer He came to great honour with the King of France The king gave him a province named after himself and his wife—

> " That is to say, Flammislie and Adria,
> His hole earldome callit Flandria,
> ' Flan ' fro the first sillab of Flammislie,
> And ' dria ' drawn from Adria the free "

That accounted for Cockelbie's second penny of the three he had for his black sow

With his third penny Cockelbie bought a godfatherly gift for the son of his rich neighbour Bleirblowane, to whom he had stood godfather,—it was a gift of four-and-twenty eggs The child's mother scorned his eggs, and he said he would take them home and keep them for his godson So he carried them home,

> " And chargit sone his henwyfe to do hir cure,
> And mak thame fruct Than to set thame scho fure
> Hir best brod hen, called lady Peckle-pes,—
> And ʒoung Cokrell her lord and leman wes,—
> Scho maid brud on thir eggis, that in schort space
> Twenty-four chikkynis of thame scho hes,
> Twelf maill and twell famell be cronikulis cleir,
> And quhat they war with thair namis we sall heir
> The first wes the samyn Chantecleir to luke
> Of quhome Chaucer treitis into his buke,*
> And his lady Partlot, sister and wyfe "

The value of the eggs rises by what we should call compound interest as the eggs of each new brood are dealt with in like manner, and in fifteen years Cockelbie's twenty-four eggs have produced a thousand pounds, which he then gives to his godson Such a parable against despising small things, intermixed with little passages of homely wisdom, is the story sometimes quoted proverbially of "Cockelbie's Sow "

* The Nun's Priest's Tale

The writer of that story quotes Chaucer, the writer of the "Freirs of Berwick" placed himself by the side of Chaucer, and told a humorous tale, not only in Chaucer's couplets, but with much of Chaucer's skill, and with a rare freedom from coarseness We know only one poet—Dunbar—who could come so near to the Master The tale is found without an author's name in Sir Richard Maitland's MS, and also in Bannatyne's John Pinkerton was the first who ascribed it to Dunbar, and he suggested that, as it speaks of all the monasteries in Berwick as standing institutions, it must have been written before the dissolution of the greater monasteries in 1539 No copy remains of an edition printed and sold by Robert Charteris at Edinburgh in 1603, and there is only one known copy of "The Merrie Historie of the Three Friers of Berwicke Printed at Aberdene by Edward Raban for David Melvill, 1622"

The Tale of the Freirs of Berwick

begins with a description of Berwick on-Tweed, with its wall, its castle,

> "The grit Croce kirk, and eke the Maisone Dew,
> The Jacobene freiris of the quhyt hew,
> The Carmeleitis and the Monkis eik,
> The Four Ordouris wer nocht for to seik"

It happened on a May morning that two of the White Jacobin friars,* Allane and Robert, who had been sent from their house at Berwick to visit brethren up the country, and pleased all wives by the way, and told them tales of saints' lives, were coming home—

> "But verry tyred and wett wes Freir Alláne,
> For he was awld, and micht not wele travell,
> And als† he had ane littill spyce of gravell,

* Jacobin was a French name for the Dominicans, because they first settled at Paris in 1219 in the Rue St Jacques, but the White friars were Carmelites

† *Als*, also

Freir Robert wes young, and very hett of blude,
And be the way he bure both clothis and hude,
And all thair geir, for he wes strong and wicht
Be that it drew neir toward the nicht,
As thai wer cumand towart the toun full neir,
Freir Aláne seid than, 'Gud bruder deir,
It is so lait, I dreid the yett * be closit,
And we are tyrit, and verry evill disposit
To luge owt of the toun, bot gif that we
In som gude houss this nycht mot herbiyt be "

There was a wonderfully good innkeeper outside the town named Simon Lawder, who had a fair blyth wife, but she was something dynk† and dangerous The friars, when they came to the house, greeted her courteously, and asked after her good man "He went from home," she said, "on Wednesday, into the country to seek corn and hay and other things we need" Friar Robert said, "I pray God give him speed," and asked the wife to fill a stoup of ale She filled the stoup and brought in bread and cheese, they ate and drank and sat at their own ease While they enjoyed themselves they heard the prayer bell of their own abbey, and then they were aghast, because they knew the gates were closed, and they might in no wise get entry They prayed the good wife, for charity, to give them a night's lodging

"But scho to thame gaif answer, with gret hicht,‡
'The Gudman is fra hame, as I yow tald,
And God it wait, § gif I durst be so bald
To herbery Freiris in this houss with me,
Quhat wald Symon say? Ha, Benedicite!'"

Allane pleaded that the ways were bad, that he was tired and wet, that the abbey gates were shut, and it would be sin in her to let them perish without help The goodwife looked at the two friars, and said at last, "Ye bide not here, but, if ye list to lie up in yon loft, ye shall find straw and I will send you clothes If you please you may pass on there both together, for in no wise can I have friars here" She sent her maid to show the way, and they went gladly into the loft that had been made for corn and hay The servant made their bed and left them, quickly closing the trapdoor as she went down Friar Allane

* *Yett*, gate
† *Dynk*, saucy
‡ *Hicht*, raised voice and temper
§ God wot

went to bed as best he might, but Friar Robert promised himself to spy sport

When the friars were shut off, the goodwife was blithe, for she had made a tryst that night with Friar John, who was a Black Friar of great renown, and sole governor of his abbey He had silver and gold in plenty, and a privy postern by which he came out, un known, when he pleased The goodwife mended the fire, thrust capons on the spit, set rabbits to roast, bade her maid turn them tenderly Then she went to her chamber, put on a white curch and a red kirtle, and two rings on every finger, then covered her table with a green cloth and fine napery above Then she went out to see whether anyone was coming "Sho thocht full lang to meit her lufe Freir Johne" Soon afterwards he knocked at the gate She knew his knock, and let him in He had brought with him in two jars a gallon of Gascon wine, a brace of partridges, and a basket of pain de mane—

> "This I haif brocht to yow, my awin luv deir,
> Therefoir I pray yow, be blythe and mak gud cheir,
> Sen it is so that Symone is fra hame
> I will be hamely now with yow, gud dame"

She made him welcome, and while they talked together Friar Robert, in the loft, made himself a small hole through the boards with his bodkin, through which he saw all that was done, and also he heard all that was said

Just when the hot supper was ready on the table, and the pair of wine jars had been set beside Friar John, the Goodman's voice was heard calling, while he knocked fast at the gate What should the friar do? He could not pass out "Best hide you," she said, "under yon great meal trough"

> "Sho closit him in, and syne went on hir way,
> 'Quhat shall I do, allace?' the Freir can say
> Syne to her Madin spedyly scho spak,
> 'Go to the fyre, and the meitis fra it tak,
> Be bissy als and slokkin out the fyre,
> Go cloiss yone burd, and tak away the chyre,
> And loke up all into yone almery,
> Baith meit and drink, with wine and aill put by,
> The mane breid als thow hyd it with the wyne
> That being done, thou sowp the howse clene syne,

That na apperance of feist be heir sene,
But sobirly our selffis dois sustene " *

Then she put away her fine clothes and bounded into bed, while Symon knocked his fill When Symon was tired of knocking in the front, he went to the back of the house, to a window by his wife's bedhead, crying "Alison, awake!" as fast as he could cry At last she answered, crabbedly, "Ach! who is this that knows so well my name? Go hence," she says, "for Symon is fra hame" Then Symon said, "Fair dame, ken ye not me? I am your Symon, and husband of this place!"—"Are ye my spouse Symon? Alas! I had almost gone wrong by mistake Who would have thought you'd come so late?" Then she rose and let him in He asked for meat, but she had none fit for him

"'How sa, fair dame? Ga geit me cheise and breid,
Ga fill the stowp, hald me no mair in pleid,
For I am verry tyrrit, wett, and cauld'"

So she put a cloth on the board, and brought him some ox heel and sheep's head and some cold meat, and filled the stoup

"Than satt he doun and swoir, 'Be All hallow,
I fair richt weill, and I had ane gud fallow
Dame, eit with me, and drink gif that ye may'
Said the gud wyf, 'Devill inche cun I, nay,
It wer mair meit in to your bed to be
Than now to sit desyrand company'"

Said Friar Robert in the loft to Friar Allane, "I would the goodman wist that we were here I shall have a sore heart if Symon polishes that sheep's head when there is so much good fare in the cupboard" And with that he coughed "Who is in the loft?" asked Symon —"Only two of your own Friars," the dame answered, with soft words —"What Friars?"—"Friar Robert and Friar Allane, who have been travelling all day with great pain It was very late when they came here Curfew was rung and their gate closed, so I gave them lodging in the loft" "They are welcome heartily," said Symon "Go call them down, that we may drink together"—"Better let them be," said the goodwife,

* *Slokin*, quench Go close yon table and take away the chair and lock all up in yon cupboard *Mane bread*, a light white bread of finest flour, with milk, bread, and almond—French, *pain d'amand* *Sowp*, sweep

"they had liever sleep than sit in company"—"I'll have them down," said Simon, and bade the maid go and invite them Then they came down and sat with Symon, and Symon was jovial and said, "Yet would I give a crown of gold for me, for some good meat and drink among us three"—"Would you so?" said Friar Robert "What meat would you like? I learnt magic at Paris, and if you will keep counsel I will bring you the best meat you ever saw, and Gascon wine to drink with it" He took his book in hand and read a bit, looked to the east, looked to the west, turned and looked down, read again, sat on the meal tub under which was Friar John, groaned, glowered, clapped his hands, turned to the south suddenly, and stooped low at the cupboard The dame saw that he knew what she had been doing "Open this cupboard, dame," said Friar Robert, "and bring us out two jars of Gascon wine that hold more than a gallon You will find pane de mane in a basket—bring it, also a couple of rabbits fat and piping hot You may bring also capons and partridges" Symon was amazed, but liked his fare They made a merry night of it, and bade the dame enjoy herself with them She made feigned cheer, with a heavy heart

Then Symon said to the Friar, "I marvel much how ye can bring suddenly so many dainties"—"It is no marvel," said the Friar "I have a private page of my own, who comes to me when I list, and brings me what I will But you must keep this secret"—"By Heaven's King," said Symon, "it shall be secret for me But, dear brother, I should like to see your servant, and drink with him"—"It cannot be," said Friar Robert "He is so foul and ugly that I dare not take on me to bring him in sight, especially now, so late at night—unless, indeed, he were turned into a shape other than his own"—"As you please," said Symon, "but I should be glad to see him"—"What shape shall he take?"—"A friar's, white, like you, white will frighten nobody" Friar Robert said that would be dishonour to his order He should come as a friar, in a black habit, which was his natural colour, and he would not be alarming in the figure of a friar "But you must stand close, Symon, and speak no word till my conjuring is done, only stand by with a staff in your hand, near the door"—"Now tell me, master, what ye will have done?"—"Only hold still, see what happens, hide by the door, and when I bid you, strike, strike hard upon his neck as he goes out" Then Friar Robert took his book again, and going presently to the meal trough cried, "Ha, how! Hurlibass, now I conjure thee! Rise in black habit, make thee like a friar, rise from this trough, make thou no din or cry! Show thyself openly, grieve no one here, pull the cowl down over thy face, and draw thy hands within thy sleeve Pass freely, and come here no more

" And our the stair se that thow ga gud speid ,
Gif thow dois nocht on thy awin perrell beid "

Then the friar under the trough soon raised himself, tumbled over the stone, and pressed towards the door When Friar Robert saw him passing by, he cried aloud to the goodman, " Strike—strike hard , now is thy time ! " Symon struck so hard that he tripped over a sack and cut his head against a mustard stone Friar John missed the steps and tumbled into a mire below, forty feet broad, from which he got home in foul clothing from top to tail, and with little desire to come again to Symon's inn Friar Robert carried Symon to the door, where he recovered when the wind had blown twice in his face , then told him that the ghost was gone, " but let him go, he was a graceless gaist, and boun you to your bed, for it is best "

CHAPTER VI

GAVIN DOUGLAS

Gavin Douglas, the poet, who lived to become Bishop of Dunkeld, was younger than Dunbar—perhaps fourteen years younger, for he was born at the end of 1474 or the beginning of 1475 He was one of four sons of Archibald, the great Earl of Angus, known as "Bell-the-Cat" He matriculated at St Andrews in 1489, became Bachelor of Arts in 1492, Master in 1494 Dunbar had taken that degree fifteen years before, in 1479 Gavin Douglas, after leaving St Andrews, went abroad, and continued study in the University of Paris He was ordained priest, and in 1496 had a grant of the teinds of Monymusk, in Aberdeenshire In 1498 there was granted to him the next presentation to the parsonage of Glenquhorn, and probably about the same time, but at a date not known, he was presented to the Rectory of Hawche, which was an old name for Linton or Prestonhaugh, now Prestonkirk, in Lothian, near Dunbar It was named Hawche from the haugh land there on the northern bank of the Tyne, and Linton was at the linn or fall of the Tyne, half a mile distant

Gavin Douglas

In the year 1501 or 1502, Gavin Douglas was made Provost of the Collegiate Church of St Giles, in Edinburgh This was a well-paid and important benefice, that brought Gavin Douglas into contact with the Court He had written the first of his poems, "The Palace of Honour," in 1501,

and had addressed it to the king Such dedication may have given the strong Douglas family an opportunity of bringing Gavin near to the king, by obtaining for him a substantial benefice in Edinburgh, his age then being about twenty-seven He had already made a verse translation of Ovid, *De Remedia Amoris*, but that is lost

"*The Palace of Honour*"

was, in the measure of "The Golden Teige," a court poem dedicated to James IV, an allegory imitated in the usual way from poems that remained in fashion On a May morning the poet entered a garden, swooned, and dreamt of a procession of Minerva and her court, Diana and her followers, Venus and all her train, with the Court of the Muses, to the Palace of Honour The palace was built on a high slippery rock with many paths, and but one leading to the summit After much detail, classical and allegorical, after seeing the Muses cull flowers of rhetoric, Gavin Douglas awoke, wrote a lay in praise of Honour, and dedicated his poem to the king Steady maintenance of right and duty, which runs through the literature of our country, is here, no doubt, and the conventional details are often quickened by the homely touches that abound in an old Scottish poet We find the noble aim also in Gavin Douglas's poem, of "King Hart," an allegory of life, the Heart personified as Man

"*King Hart*"

is the hero of a morality poem, built on the same lines as a morality play He is young and lusty, beset by the vices of pleasure, though guarded by five servants, who stand for his five senses Honour, refused admittance, finds a way into his castle Dame Pleasaunce, with a fair train, passes by Youth-head and Fresh Delight go from the castle of King Hart to learn more of her, but they are made prisoners, and fastened in the silken bonds of Venus Other messengers sent out are captured also Then King Hart goes to do battle with Dame Pleasaunce He is defeated, wounded, and himself made prisoner But Pity sets him free, King Hart seizes the castle, and is wedded to Pleasaunce

After a while Age approaches, Wantonness brings word to King Hart that Age is at the door Youth-head, Disport, and Fresh Delight then quit the Court, Conscience comes in unchecked, Sadness whispers King Hart

in the ear, Dame Pleasaunce deserts him Wisdom and Reason advise him to retire to his own castle There Languor meets him at the gate, Strength creeps out at a postern, and the hideous army of Decrepitude is next seen marching down upon him He is overcome, and makes his will before he dies To Queen Pleasaunce he leaves his palfrey, Unsteadfastness, his great belly he leaves to Gluttony, his worn out stomach to Rere-supper (the second supper, taken when wise folk should be in bed), his conscience to be scoured by Chastity, and so forth

This differs only from a Morality Play in being told, instead of being shown in dialogue with action "King Hart" probably was written not long after "The Palace of Honour" All the work of Gavin Douglas, as a poet, falls in his earlier life within the reign of James IV The nine years of his later life belong only to history

There is a little poem by Gavin Douglas in four Chaucer stanzas * called "Conscience" The first stanza says that, when the Church was young, prelates were chosen for their perfection because *Conscience* ruled The second stanza says that, after a time, they slipped the *Con* away and left only the *science*, but yet it was well that wit and learning ruled When *science* began to impair, the *sci* was cut away, and the third stanza tells how it fared when there remained only

"Con science"

> "This sillab *Ens*,
> Quhilk in our language signifies that schrew
> Riches and geir, that gart all grace go hens"

The fourth stanza then cries out on hungry Ens, that tempted Judas, and, through Simon, infected Holy Church, praying God send Defence with Conscience back again

There remains also of Gavin Douglas his translation of Virgil's Æneid, with the thirteenth book that was added by Maphæus Vegius This was the first translation of the

* The seven-lined stanzas, which we can also call "Troilus verse," abandoning the name "rhyme royal"—"E W" v 132*n*

Æneid into English, and marked an important advance in the work of Englishing the Latin classics Douglas began this translation in January of 1512, and finished it in July, 1513 On the 30th of September, 1513, the freedom of the city of Edinburgh was conferred upon him, this was thice weeks aftei the disaster at Flodden Field, where Gavin Douglas's two elder brothers shared the king's fate Their old father, the great Earl of Angus, broken down by grief, retired to a religious house in Galloway, where he died early in 1514 Gavin Douglas, Provost of St Giles', was thus left eldest survivor of the house But the earldom passed, in the line of the eldest son, to Archibald, son of George, Master of Angus, and before a year was out young Archibald was married to King James's widow, the young Queen Margaret As Margaret was Henry VIII 's sister, the Douglas family then came to be identified with English interests in Scotland, but the interests of England were opposed to Scottish independence, which the French alliance had helped to maintain, and so the Douglases in Scotland came to be considered traitors to their country's cause

Last years of Gavin Douglas

As uncle to Queen Margaret's husband, Gavin Douglas became hopelessly entangled in the difficulties of the time that followed In June, 1514, Queen Margaret named him for Abbot of Arbroath In October the death of William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, who had been named for the Archbishopric of St Andrews, caused Queen Margaret to urge the appointment of Gavin Douglas, whom she had made her Chancellor, to that metropolitan see His attempt to take possession was resisted by force, and Gavin Douglas got neither the Abbey of Arbroath nor the Archbishopric, but in 1515 the influence of Henry VIII with the Pope obtained for Gavin Douglas the Bishopric of Dunkeld. Political questions raised over this appointment led to his imprison-

ment in Edinburgh Castle by the Duke of Albany After a year of such imprisonment he was set free, at the end of September, 1516, all difficulties were removed, and Gavin Douglas was able to be consecrated Bishop of Dunkeld But as Bishop of Dunkeld he was still hedged in with political troubles At last he went to London, on a hopeless mission to Henry VIII, where Polydore Vergil fell into friendship with him, and tells in his History how Gavin Douglas gave him materials for a right understanding of Scottish affairs "But," Polydore says, "I did not long enjoy the fruition of this my friend, for in the year of Our Lord MDXXII he died of the plague in London" He died in the house of his friend Thomas Lord Dacre, in the middle of September, 1522, when forty-eight years old

Douglas's Æneid

Gavin Douglas's translation of the Æneid was made on the suggestion of his cousin Henry Lord Sinclair, to whom, at the end of the work, there is an address, wherein "the Translator direkkis his buik and excusis hymself" The translation, he says, shall be to many profitable as well as pleasant for the thoughts of Virgil that are in it—

> "It sal eik do sum folk solace, I ges,
> To pas the tyme, and eschew idilnes
> Ane othir proffit of our buke I mark,
> That it sal be reput a neidfull wark
> To thame wald Virgill to childryng expone,
> For quha list note my versys, one by one,
> Sall fynd therein hys sentens euery deill,
> And almaiste word by word, that wait I weill
> Thank me tharfor, maisters of grammar sculis,
> Quhar ȝe syt techand on ȝour benkis and stulis"

Gavin Douglas adds five stanzas as "Ane Exclamatioun aganis detractouris and oncurtas redaris, that bene our studius, but occasioun,* to note and spy owt faltis or offencis

* Uncourteous readers that are over studious without occasion, &c

L 2

in this volum, or ony othir crafty warkis" There has been no time in the history of Literature when this "Exclamation" would have been without its cause, but all vermin have their place in nature, and these will last until aphis and red spider are no longer found upon the rose Lastly, Douglas rhymed a note of "the tyme, space and dait of the translatioun of this buik"—

> "Completit was this wark Virgiliane,
> Apon the fest of Marie Magdelane,
> Fra Cristis byrth, the dait quha list to heir,
> A thousand fyve hundreth and threttene yeir
> * * * * * * *
> as God lyst lend me grace,
> It was compilit in auchtene moneth space,
> Set I feil syth, syk twa monethis in feir,*
> Wrait neuir a word"

The measure throughout is that of the lines of epilogue just quoted—Chaucer's rhyming couplet of ten syllabled lines, of which example was set in the Prologue to the "Canterbury Tales," and which became known, therefore, as Riding Rhyme Douglas chose it as most suitable for easy, sustained narrative The influence of Chaucer was so far felt by Douglas that his Scottish dialect was mixed with southern forms—the use of *y*, for example, as a prefix—that had become familiar through Chaucer's verse When Douglas claims to have given the sentence—that is, the thought —of Virgil word for word, he does not mean to suggest that one word in Latin is translated by one word in English He often expands and paraphrases, now and then turning one line even into five, to give his reader the full taste of Virgil's meaning As he says in the Prologue to the First Book—

> "Sum tyme the text mon haue ane expositioun,
> Sum tyme the colour will caus a litle additioun,
> And sum tyme of ane word I mon mak three"

* *Set*, though, *feil syth*, many times, *in feir*, together

He may also translate, now and then, into ideas of his time, but when he translates the cry of the Sibyl—

> "Cessas in vota precesque,
> Tros, ait, Aenea? cessas?"

> "'Blyn nocht, blyn nocht! thow gret Troiane Enee
> Of thi *bedis* nor of thi prayeris,' quod sche,"

he does not, as has been often supposed, make her tell Æneas to count his beads. For beads only came to be so called from their use in counting prayers. "Bedes" were named from the word which Gavin Douglas uses here, rightly, as the Teutonic synonym for Latin "preces," (prayers).* It may be noted, also, that his translation of "viscum" in the same Sixth Book into "gum" or "glue," instead of mistletoe, is a reasonable error. The fruit of mistletoe being used in making bird-lime, "viscum" did very commonly mean bird-lime, and has given us such words as "viscous" and "viscid."

Gavin Douglas's Æneid led the way worthily in the long line of Virgilian translation. It has freshness and homely vigour, and it is the work of a true poet. The best evidence of Gavin Douglas's own power as a poet he has, indeed, associated with this translation, made, as he said, in fulfilment of a promise given to Venus in the "Palace of Honour."† The wish to translate the Æneid

* So, also, when Gavin Douglas writes of the Sibyl—whom he calls "may," "virgin," "religius woman"—"And syne the nun to the hie temple thaim brocht," he makes no unscholarly use of a word that represented to his readers a secluded votary. The word is older than the restricted Christian use of it. In Sanscrit "naná" was the child's word for "mother," and its root in the child's utterance entered into words involving kindred affection and respect of young for old. Thus "nun" is a monosyllable that comes from the beginning of speech, and marked one form of a conception as old as man.

† Where he said, after receiving the book from Venus which she made him promise to translate—

> "Tuitchand this buik perauenture ȝe sall heir,
> Sum time efter, quhen I have mair laseir."

was, therefore, in Douglas's mind in 1501, twelve years before he was able to say, in the closing dedication to his cousin—

> "Now am I fully quyt,
> As twichand Venus, of myn auld promyt
> Quhilk I hir maid weil twelf ȝeris tofor,
> As wytnessyth my Palice of Honour
> In the quhilk wark, ȝe reid, on hand I tuike
> For to translait at hir instance a buike,
> Sa have I done aboune, as ȝe may se,
> Virgillis volum of her sonne Enee"

Douglas not only translated the Æneid, but wrote a Prologue of his own to every Book It is in some of these Prologues—especially the Prologue to the Twelfth Book,—that we have Gavin Douglas at his best The first Prologue opens his purpose, and deals very severely with the French Virgil which Caxton had translated * as "the Book of Eneydos"—

> "Thocht Williame Caxtoun, of Inglis natioun,
> In pross he prent ane buik of Inglis gros,
> Clepand it Virgill in Eneados,
> Quhilk that he sais of Frensch he did translait,
> It hes na thing ado therwith, God wait, †
> Nor na man like than the devill and Saint Austine"

Douglas dwells at length upon the difference between Virgil's Æneid and Caxton's, which makes him spit and bite his lip He objects that whoever mangled Virgil's work saw nothing of truths within the clouds of poetry—

> "For so the poetis be ther crafty curis,
> In similitudis and under quent figuris,
> The suthfast mater to hyde and to constrene
> All is not fals, traste wele, in caice thai fene"

Then he proceeds to show that Virgil meant Æneas for the type of a true man

* "E W" vi, 333—4 † *Wait*, wot, knows

The Prologue to the Second Book contains only three stanzas of lament for the destruction of Troy. The third Prologue, in five stanzas, suggests that the seeming fables next to be told wear the armour of Virgil, and the poet calls upon the Virgin to protect him "from Harpyes fell, and blind Ciclopes handis . . . Fra swelth of Silla, and dirk Charibdis band is—I mene from hell." The fourth Prologue introduces Dido with thirty-five stanzas of the true and the false love, and much warning against the false. The fifth Prologue, in eight stanzas, coming before the book that describes games, exalts the praise of Virgil for variety—"now dreid, now strif, now luf, now wo, now play," and everywhere wisdom;—

> "Now harkis sportis, merthes, and mery playis,
> Full gudlie pastance on mony syndry wayis,
> Endite by Virgile, and heir by me translait,
> Quhilk William Caxtoun knew neuir all his dayis;
> For, as I said tofoir, that man forvayis,
> His febill prois bene mank * and mutilait.
> But my propyne coym fra the pres fuit hait,
> Vnforlatit, not jawin fra tun to tun,
> In fresche sapour new fro the berrie run."

The sixth Prologue prepares religiously, in twenty-one stanzas, for Virgil's tale of the descent into the under-world. Saint Augustine, the poet observes, quotes a hundred verses of Virgil, and many from the Sixth Book of the Æneid—

> "For, thocht Crist ground our faith,
> Virgilis sawis ar worth to put in ston."

Having finished his translation to the end of the Sixth Book, Gavin Douglas adds a prose note to suggest that in those six foresaid books Virgil had followed Homer in his Odyssey, showing the long navigation and great perils and dangers of Æneas on the sea. In the other six books

* *Mank*, French, *manqué*, maimed, wanting.

he followed Homer in his Iliad, describing battles, wherein he was still a mirror for princes · "Quhaifor let euery nobyll Prynce that desiris to cum to hye honour and grete fame and name eftii this lyfe, fear God, luf vertew and iustice, heat* vyce, punyss euyll men and promowe gud men, and to this end mak all his lawis, ordinances and procedingis so schall his kyngdome and posterite be moist permanent and durabyll *Vivit post funera virtus* "

The Prologue to the Seventh Book, in a hundred and sixty eight lines of Chaucer's couplets, contains a fine description of winter—the season in which Douglas began to write again Then, seeking the fire, he saw his Virgil on a lectern, and took pen in hand, grieved that he was but half through "Na thing is done quhill ocht remains to do "

The Prologue to the Eighth Book is in fourteen long thirteen-lined stanzas, with rhyme and excessive alliteration, often of five instead of three words in a line Douglas here tries his skill at alliteration, as Dunbar did in the "Tua Maryit Wemen and the Wedo " In this Prologue an unhappy man comes to the poet in a dream, and complains of the wilfulness of men and women of all sorts, who seek only the fulfilment of their own desires The unhappy man then turns to Douglas with a "What, man, rot thou in bed with thy head full of bees?"—"Go away," says Douglas, "chide with another "—" What, man, do not be vexed I speak in sport What is it people want? What do you want?"—"Let me sleep," says the poet "What others want I see but darkly, for my own part, I long to have my book done "—"Your book's a small matter See here " The man who chid at the low, various desires of men, then gave him a roll to read that showed "the moving of the mappamond," sun, stars, and Charles's Wain,

* *Heat*, hate

"Prater John, and Poit Jaff
Quhy the corn hes the caff
And kow weris clufe" *

Here we have homely suggestion of the great book of the works of God The poet said, "These are riddles to me Leid, lerne me ane vther lessoun, this I ne lyke"—"Come, then," he said, "Sir Parson" And he took the poet to a field where there was a hidden treasure But when the poet began to dig for it he woke, and the treasure was lost, and the field could not be found in which it lay By that last showing of what was beyond all objects of this world's desire — greater than Virgil's master-work, greater than work of God in the material creation, and yet near to us if we could find it—Douglas meant the Kingdom of Heaven, like unto a treasure hid in a field It were a shame to us, says Douglas, if such dreams be true, and he sprang up and sat under a tree-root, and "begouth this aucht buik"

"The Proloug of the Nynt Buik," in ninety-eight lines, suggests the noble nature that speaks fitly of heroic deeds, and treats of the harmony of words with matter The Prologue to the Tenth Book, in five-and-thirty stanzas, is a declaration of faith in the Triune God, and in salvation by Christ—

"My makar, my redemar, and support,
Fra quham all grace and gudnes cumis at schort,
Grant me that grace my mysdedis til amend,
Of this and all my warkis to mak gud end
Thus I beseik thee, Lord, thus I exhort

"From thee, begynning and end be of my muse,
All other Jove and Phebus I refus,
Lat Virgyll hald his mawmentis to hymsel,
I wirschip noder idoll, stok, nor elf,
Thocht furth I wryte so as myne autour dois"

* *Caff*, chaff, *cluf*, hoof

The Prologue to the Eleventh Book, in five-and-twenty eight-lined stanzas (rhyming a b a b b c c b), treats of true chivalry, both temporal and spiritual, the aim of this Prologue being to prelude the wars of Turnus and Æneas with a strain of the great battle of life, in which we must all try to take our part in the right spirit of chivalry.

Then there remains but one more Book of Virgil, preluded with a description of the joys of May among the woods and streams, showers and mists, hills, meadows, flowers, sunlight, song of birds in Scotland. This piece lives in the memory like a long, happy day that has been really lived and felt among the radiance of the surrounding world. A quality in which old poets of our north country were always strong is here seen at its best, inspired alike by the true love of Nature and the love of Chaucer, who is part of her. The birds' welcome to the sun was closed with hint of the rebuke of sluggards:

> "And with this word, in chalmer quhair I lay,
> The nynt morow of fresche temperat May,
> On fut I spreng into my bayr sark,
> Wilfull for till compleyt my langsum wark
> Twichand the lattyr buke of Dan Virgile,
> Quhilk me had tareyt al to lang a while."

But when the last book of Virgil's Æneid had been finished, a thirteenth Prologue tells how Maphæus Vegius came in a dream, and was very obstinate in requiring that his added thirteenth book should also be translated. The poet thought not; he had laid aside many grave matters while translating Virgil, which ought now to have full attention; that thirteenth book added by Maphæus did not, he said, agree in manner with Virgil, and, for its matter, it was no more wanted than a fifth wheel to a cart. Thereupon Maphæus became angry as well as obstinate. "ȝa, smy, quod he, wald thou eschaipe me swa?" After so long

following Virgil, who was a heathen, why cannot you give a little time to me, who am a Christian?

> "For thocht it be bot poetry we say,
> My boke and Virgillis moral bene, bayth tway,
> Lene me a fourtene nycht, how evir it be,
> Or be the faderis sawle me gat, quod he,
> Thou sall deir by* that evir thou Vergill knew
> And with that word, doun of the sete me drew
> Syne to me wyth his club he maid a braid,
> And twenty rowtis apoun my rigging laid,
> Quhill *Deo, Deo*, mercy did I cry,
> And be my rycht hand strekit up in hy †
> Hecht to translait his buike, in honour of God
> And his Apostolis twelf, in the numbyr od"

So, pleasantly, Gavin Douglas excused himself for joining to Virgil's work that thirteenth book, written by Maffei Vegio of Lodi, who died in 1458 Maphæus wrote a few other well-meaning books one was on the Christian Education of Children, one on Perseverance in Religion, one on Truth Exiled He was a Canon of St Peter's and Chancellor to the Papal Court, where his Augustus was Eugenius IV Gavin Douglas's translation of the Æneid remained unprinted until 1553

As Dunbar and Douglas are poets almost wholly, if not wholly, to be associated with the reign of James IV, so David Lindsay, who was about thirty years younger than Dunbar and about sixteen years younger than Douglas—although in his youth he also was at the Court of James IV—belongs not less distinctly to the reign of James V of Scotland We shall find in him the chief Scottish poet of the troublous time that came after the death of James IV on the Field of Flodden

* *By*, abye, pay for it
† *In hy*, in haste *Hecht*, promised

CHAPTER VII

MORALITY PLAYS—SKELTON—COLET—MORE'S "UTOPIA"

THE MORALITY PLAY did not arise by direct transition from the Miracle Play to the true Drama. It was one branch of that allegorical literature which had, as we have seen, its other form in poems like "The Pastime of Pleasure," "The Example of Virtue," or "King Hart." Miracle plays remained miracle plays. In the reign of Henry VIII. they lost some part of their reason for existence, came to be less cared for, but were still occasionally acted. When currency was given by authority to a translation of the Scriptures into the speech of the people, the Bible in the home was better than the Bible in the streets. The whole truth took away what had once been the life of that imperfect showing of its substance. The English people, through their trade guilds, had developed Miracle Plays to their utmost power of bringing home to men a knowledge of the Sacred Book. The Book itself, however, they sought more and more to make their own, after Wyclif's translation had begun to pass from hand to hand. Miracle Plays grew vigorously and struck deep roots as long as they gave real aid to the spreading of religious truths among the people. But wherever the Bible itself came into the field, and spoke in their own language to the people, the Miracle Plays began to fail. Their roots were cut away, and they soon died.

Morality Plays

The Moralities, or allegorical plays, were also written to be acted. There the resemblance ends, except as to that earnestness of purpose which they have in common with most forms of English Literature. There were no morality plays before the reign of Henry VI., and they did not become widely popular until their personification of the virtues and vices in action could be used for an appeal to the people on great public questions in debate among them. They had a use of their own when, north and south, in the days of Henry VIII., they were planned by men who sought the reformation of abuses. They helped them to express or form opinion of the people.

A considerable fragment of an old Morality Play on Life, Death, and the Life to come, which has just been discovered* by Mr. James Mills in the Irish Record Office, is, perhaps, older than the oldest hitherto described. It was found on an account roll of the Priory of the Holy Trinity (now represented by Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin), and is written on the blank spaces at the back of a seneschal's account of 1343. It is packed into four columns by two different copyists, whose writing seems to be of about the middle of the fifteenth century. The poem is in four-lined stanza, with alternate rhymes. The end is wanting; there are gaps, also, at the foot of the first and second columns. A Prologue of twenty-eight stanzas enables us to know how the piece ended. The fragment of the play itself contains 390 lines. The matter of this play shows the Morality in its first simple form, the type from which the most fully developed of later pieces of the kind never departed. Man is here represented as "the King of Life." In Lindsay's "Satire of the Three Estates"—the most elaborate and most

* I am indebted to Mr. Mills for his great courtesy in enabling me to give a short account of it. His own full description was read before the Royal Irish Academy on the 13th of April, 1891. Mr. Mills has named the piece "The Pride of Life."

important of the later Moralities—he is called *Rex Humanitatis* The King of Life is supported by his two knights, Health and Strength, and his messenger is Mirth They flatter him into false confidence—

Sanitas " King of lyf yt berist þe croun,
as hit is skil and rigte
I am hele i com to toun
þi kind courteyse knigte

" þu art lord of lim and life
and kinge withouten ende
stif and strong and sterne in strif
in londe qwher þu wende

" þu nast no nede to sike sor'
for no thinge on lyve
þu shal lyve ever mor'
qwho dar wt þe strive "

The King of Life boasts himself to be stronger than Death His Queen teaches him better, he opposes her, for is he not the King of Life? His Knights, Health and Strength, promise to help him against Death Then enters Mirth, the King's Messenger, who adds his flatteries, and is promised a reward—

" þu schal have for þi gode wil
to þin avauncement
þe castel of gailispir on þe hil
and þe erldom of Kente " *

The Queen then sends the Messenger to fetch the Bishop He comes, and, with lament for the corruption of the time, joins his warnings to those of the Queen But the King of Life is stubborn in self-confidence—

* Mr James Gairdner has pointed out that the Earldom of Kent was vacant and at the Crown's disposal from 1407 to 1462 And what of the castle of Gailispir?

> "Wat bissop byssop babler
> schold y of det hav dred
> þou art bot a chagler
> go home þi wey i red"

Then the King, who has Health and Strength on his side, sends his Messenger to challenge Death The fragment ends in the midst of the Messenger's proclamation, but the Prologue has told us that Death will come and slay the King, after which fiends come to seize his soul, which is saved from them by the intercession of the Virgin Mary

Three of the earliest moral plays are in MSS that belonged to Dr Cox Macro, afterwards to Mr Hudson Gurney, and were described by John Payne Collier in his "History of English Dramatic Poetry" One of them is "The Castle of Perseverance," ascribed to the reign of Henry VI, and regarded as one of the earliest pieces of its kind It has thirty-four characters Lines are provided to be spoken in announcement of the time of its performance in any country town Man is called in the play *Humanum Genus*, and enters naked as just born, to deal with the wiles of the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, *Mundus*, *Caro*, and *Belial* *Humanum Genus*, between the voices of a Good and a Bad Angel, chooses to follow the Bad, who carries him to *Mundus*, who appoints *Stultitia*, *Voluptas*, and *Detractio* to attend upon him He soon becomes acquainted with the Seven Deadly Sins, is wedded to *Luxuria*, and is in great danger until the Good Angel brings to him *Confessio*, who, with the aid of *Pœnitentia*, reclaims *Humanum Genus*—now forty years old—and advises him to make himself safe in the Castle of Perseverance There he is besieged by the Seven Deadly Sins under Belial, who, for their neglect in letting Man escape, first beats the sins about the ground on which the play is shown It is solid ground, for some of the combatants come in on horseback A drawing on the last leaf of the MS shows that there was a castle

set up to represent the Castle of Perseverance, with a bed under it for *Humanum Genus*, and five separate scaffolds for *Deus*, *Belial*, *Mundus*, *Caro*, and *Avaritia* *Mundus* and *Caro* join in the attack *Humanum Genus* calls on Christ for aid, and the Virtues—Charity, Patience, and others—beat back the Vices, chiefly by battering them with roses *Humanum Genus* then grows old *Avaritia* creeps under the castle wall, and the Old Man descends to live with his hoard Then come *Mors* and *Anima* *Anima* calls to *Misericordia* for help The Bad Angel takes *Humanum Genus* on his back and departs, saying, "Have good day, I goo to helle" There is then pleading in Heaven of *Misericordia* and *Pax* for Man, *Justitia* and *Veritas* against him, before *Deus sedens in tronum* The Soul of Man is sent for, and *Pax* takes it from the back of the Bad Angel The presenter of *Deus* closes the piece with the lines—

> "All men example hereat may take
> To mayntein the good and mendyn here mys
> Thus endyth our gamys
> To save you fro synnynge,
> Evyr at the begynnynge,
> Thynke on youre last endynge
> *Te Deum laudamus*"

Another of this collection of three earliest Moralities is called "Mind, Will, and Understanding," and was presented also with much pomp of disguising and variety of action It represents Wisdom, the Second Person of the Trinity, loved by *Anima*, the soul of man, till Lucifer allures to vice Mind, Will, and Understanding They bid farewell to Conscience, and *Anima*, looking "fouler than a fiend," becomes the mother of the Seven Deadly Sins Then *Anima* feels her change, Mind, Will, and Understanding, knowing that they were the cause of it, turn from their evil courses. A third piece in the same collection, called "Mankind," makes the fiend Tutivillus represent the Flesh

An early printed Morality, without date or printer's name, called "Nature," was written by Henry Medwall, chaplain to Cardinal Morton, and acted before Morton, who died in the year 1500 It was written, therefore, early in the reign of Henry VII Nature is represented as God's minister on earth to teach all creatures Nature appoints Reason and Sensuality to be man's guides in the journey of life *Mundus* aids Sensuality, and Man dismisses Reason with his companion, Innocency Pride and his page presently take their places Man is disguised in costly fashion, and strikes Reason for resisting him in following the lead of Sensuality He falls in, also, with the other Deadly Sins, who change their names to deceive him Pride is called Worship, Covetousness, Worldly Policy, Wrath, Manhood, Gluttony, Good Fellowship, Envy, Disdain, Sloth, Ease At the end of the first part of the piece, Man finds he has been deceived, and through Shamefastness is reconciled again to Reason But in the second part he is again at odds with Reason, who brings a force against him Gluttony, armed with a cheese and bottle, will not fight for him Pride stays away Age reconciles Man to Reason, and all the Vices are dismissed, save Covetise Then the Virtues come with their good teaching Abstinence and Chastity bring Man to Repentance, and he returns to Reason, who promises him Salvation

Another old Morality, first printed by Wynken de Worde in 1522, "The World and the Child," represents Man in five ages—in infancy, when he is called Infans, in boyhood, when he is called Wanton, in youth, when he is called Lust-and-Liking, in Manhood, and in Age Here, also, in the course of his career, Man becomes acquainted with the Seven Deadly Sins When taught their character by Conscience, Folly delays his turning from them When Manhood has changed to Age, Conscience calls in the

aid of Perseverance, and Age, converted, takes the name of Repentance

"Every Man" is the name of another of these Moral Plays, the name being used as English equivalent to *Genus Humanum* It was printed by Richard Pynson and also by John Skot, of Paul's Churchyard, without date, with the title, "Here begynneth a Treatise how the hye Fader of Heven sendeth Dethe to somon every creature to come and gyve a counte of theyr lyves in this worlde, and is in maner of a moralle play"

"Every Man"

When Every-man is called to Judgment, after Death has withdrawn, he calls in vain for help from Fellowship, Kindred, Goods, or Riches, who all leave him He turns then to Good Deeds, who rebukes him for long neglect of her She introduces him to her sister Knowledge, who leads him to Conscience, who appoints him penance, which he undergoes upon the stage He retires then to receive the Sacrament, and returns from it with declining powers Strength, Beauty, and his Five Wits take leave of him, but not Good Deeds He dies An angel comes to sing his requiem, and a Doctor comes to bid the hearers have in mind the moral, that of his earthly goods and graces,

> "They all at last do Every man forsake,
> Save his good-dedes there doth he take
> But be ware, and they be small
> Before God he hath no helpe at all"

Wynken de Worde printed the Moral Play of "Hicke-Scorner" without a date, and with woodcut figures of the chief characters Pity enters and describes himself, then Contemplation does the same Contemplation has been sent by Perseverance to seek Pity. They speak of the ill times Then Free-will enters as a Vice, living a dissolute life, with Imagination

"Hicke-Scorner"

for his comrade Free-will and Imagination live ill lives, and are the companions of Hicke-Scorner, who next enters He is glad to say that all the good monks and nuns—Truth and his kinsman Patience, Meekness and Humility, Soberness, Charity, Good Conscience and Devotion, true buyers and sellers, almsdeed doers, piteous people, mourners for sin, and good rich men that help folk out of prison, true wedlock also—have been drowned together in a ship that struck upon a quicksand Vices rejoice and quarrel Pity pleads, and—insulted, fettered, bound with a halter—is left to lament the corruption of the times Pity is unbound by Contemplation and Perseverance Free-will runs riot and boasts of evil doing, but is detained by Contemplation and Perseverance, who reason against his bullying till he asks mercy for his past sin and forsakes it He is told that he needs no new name—

> " For all that will to Heaven hie
> By his own Free will he must forsake folly,
> Then he is sure and safe "

Contemplation robes Free-will in a new garment, and he resolves never to leave the side of Perseverance Then enters Imagination with—

> " Huff, huff, huff ! Who sent after me ?
> I am Imagination, full of jollity
> Lord, that my heart is light !
> When shall I perish ? I trow never "

The change in his friend Free-will surprises him Pity and Perseverance counsel Imagination also, and tell him of the love of Christ He is stubborn and defiant, until, following the counsel of Free-will, he also asks mercy for his sins, is clothed anew, and has his name changed to Good Remembrance Perseverance gives the closing counsel to " be God's servant day and night " Hicke-Scorner, shown only in the middle of the piece, does not appear again

Now we return to Skelton Thomas Warton saw in possession of William Collins, the poet, at Chichester, a Morality Play by John Skelton, which was printed in 1504 by Wynken de Worde, and is not now to be found It was entitled "The Nigramansir, a morall Enterlude and a pithie, written by Maister Skelton laureate and plaid before the King and other Estatys at Woodstoke on Palm Sunday" The piece, as described by Thomas Warton from Collins's lost copy, had for its characters a Necromancer, the Devil, a Notary Public, Simony, and Philargyria (love of money) It was a morality upon worldliness within the Church The Necromancer was only the speaker of the Prologue, in octave rhyme, at the end of which he raised the Devil, by whom he was kicked for fetching him out so early A court was formed for the trial of Simony and Philargyria There were various measures used in this piece, interspersed with scraps of French and Latin Philargyria quoted Seneca and Saint Austin Simony offered to bribe the Devil, who rejected his offer angrily, and swore that he should be well fried with Mahomet, Herod, Pontius Pilate, and Judas Iscariot The last scene, says Warton, was closed with a view of hell and a dance between the Devil and the Necromancer. The dance ended, the Devil tripped up the Necromancer's heels, and disappeared in fire and smoke

Skelton's "Nigramansir"

John Skelton had taken holy orders early in the summer of 1498, and was presented to the Rectory of Diss, in Norfolk, before the year in which Wynken de Worde printed "The Necromancer" Indeed, the first evidence of Skelton's residence at Diss bears the date of that year (1504) when he is witness to the will of a parishioner, and is described as "Master John Skelton, Laureat, Parson of Diss" We shall find him in Henry VIII's reign active against those corruptions of Church discipline which came through greed of wealth and

John Skelton

power Skelton is said to have attacked the wealth and pride of the Dominicans in his own neighbourhood, and so made them his enemies Ecclesiastics, bound to celibacy, took women to live with them, by whom they had children, and if they were unmarried none but the most zealous bishops interfered Skelton's mind was much with the reformers, and he tried to do right without open defiance of convention, by marrying the woman whom he chose for his companion in life, but leaving it to be supposed that she held the usual position—not conventionally base *—of what was called in a priest's household, a *focaria* The Dominicans found out that their opponent, the Rector of Diss, was a married priest, and accused him to his bishop, Richard Nix, of Norwich For this offence against ecclesiastical law Skelton was suspended from his office, and when he died, though he was nominally Rector of Diss, he had virtually lost that living He left Diss, with his wife and children, to live in London, battling vigorously against pomps and vanities among the higher clergy

Skelton's "Magnificence"

Skelton, in a later poem of his own, "The Garland of Laurel," gives a list of writings that include, among other lost works, his "sovereign Interlude of Virtue," and "his Comedy Achademiss called by name" These must have been of the nature of Moralities, as well as his "Magnificence" Skelton's "Magnificence," in verse humorous and earnest, showed how Felicity argued with Liberty, who was over-impatient of restraint, how Measure, entering, set forth that "Liberty without Measure proveth a thing of nought," how wealthful Felicity and Liberty allowed Measure to guide them, and resolved that

> "There is no prince but he hath need of us three—
> Wealth with Measure and pleasant Liberty"

Magnificence then entered, and took them discreetly for

* "E W' iv 23

companions, but was presently beguiled by the vice Fancy, and practised upon by Fancy himself, under the name of the virtue Largeness, and by the vices Counterfeit Countenance, Crafty Conveyance, Cloked Collusion, Courtly Abusion, and Folly, under the names of Good Demeanaunce, Surveyance, Sober Sadness (seriousness), Pleasure, and Conceit They separated Magnificence from Measure, Liberty, and Felicity, then left him to be beaten down by the blows of Adversity He was next visited by Poverty, mocked by the vices that betrayed him, and left to give entrance to Despair Upon Despair followed Mischief, and fallen Magnificence was about to slay himself, when Good Hope entering put to flight those tempters, arrested the sword, and told the sufferer that his physician is the Grace of God Then came Redress and Sad Circumspection, and finally, by help of Perseverance, he rose to a higher than his old estate, after he had been taught

> " How suddenly worldly wealth doth decay,
> How wisdom, through wantonness, vanisheth away,
> How none estate living of himself can be sure,
> For the wealth of this world cannot endure "

Skelton's "Magnificence," written in Henry VIII's reign, is one of the two finest examples of the Morality Play The other, and the best of all, written a few years later, is Sir David Lindsay's "Satire of the Three Estates," upon which we shall dwell when we have resumed the history of our literature north of the Tweed The fundamental notion of the Morality is of Man tempted by pleasant vices, withdrawn from the virtues, admonished by adversity or by the coming of old age, or of death and judgment Thus the characters were personifications of abstract ideas, and Vice, when not in disguise, wore—as Brant or Barclay would have thought most fitting—the dress of a fool Man frequently is represented as a king surrounded by the pomps and vanities

Spirit of the Moralities

of life, but the one general conception underlies, of course, various conceptions of the form of vice against which the poet should direct his lesson The best poet will go straightest to the point Skelton's "Negramansir" seems to have wrestled in its way with Simony and Avarice as vices of the Church, as Wyclif and his followers had wrestled and were wrestling, and as Skelton himself wrestled in later years And we shall find the scope of the Morality Play enlarged, after the death of Skelton, by Sir David Lindsay, with a very direct application of that form of literature to an expression of the chief ills of the land in Church and State, and a definite suggestion of remedies

Skelton and Barclay

Alexander Barclay's quarrel against Skelton, which caused him to write a lost book, "Contra Skeltonum," was no doubt from the point of view of the religious orders among whom Barclay lived and died Barclay also was a reformer, who would have turned the great world from its follies if he could, but Skelton battled for reform within the little world of monks and friars, bishops and archbishops He was of one mind with Erasmus, and more than half, also, of Luther's temper In "The Boke of Philip Sparrow" we now recognize the kindly grace of a music that, with dainty playfulness, pours out the lament of an innocent girl, Jane Scroupe, a school-girl in the house of the Benedictine nuns at Carowe, in the suburbs of Norwich, over the loss of her pet bird This offended the translator of "The Ship of Fools," partly because it played with forms of the Church dirge over a theme so trivial as the death of a sparrow Long after Barclay's time there were good men scandalised by Dunbar's "Dirge," written to bring the king out of Stirling into Edinburgh Another ground of offence to Barclay would be the employment of a poet's powers on so trivial a theme as the death of a sparrow, but the root of the dislike sprang, no doubt, from the part taken by Skelton in Church politics,

which caused defenders of the wealth and privileges he attacked to misunderstand him and misrepresent him, as in such cases the custom is among us still Many a man's features have come down to us obscured and defiled by the mud thus thrown in party warfare

But we care most now for John Skelton as Spenser cared for him, because he was a poet who, in Henry VIII's time, expressed some of those energetic feelings which were hastening a reformation in the English Church He seems to have been suspended from his office at Diss, but not deprived Nominally he still held it until his death in 1529, for in July of that year Thomas Clerk was instituted as Skelton's successor Henry VIII retained good will for his old master, and Skelton was much at his Court But outspoken denunciations of the spiritual pride and pomp of the higher clergy, and their neglect of spiritual duties, advanced in Skelton to a courageous attack on Wolsey when he was at the height of his power In Wolsey's earlier days, when he was simply a rising churchman (who early in 1514 became Bishop of Lincoln, and before the close of the year Archbishop of York, and who in 1516 began to build for himself at Hampton Court), Skelton was among his friends So he remained until a short time after Wolsey had been appointed the Pope's sole legate *a latere*, in June, 1519 But in that year Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, complained to the king of Wolsey as oppressor of the clergy, and in 1522, when the election of Adrian VI disappointed him of the Papacy, Wolsey, who was maintaining war against France without a Parliament, levied a loan of a tenth on lay subjects, and a fourth on the clergy In 1523, when Wolsey's illegitimate son, Thomas Winter, was made Archdeacon of York, and again Wolsey was disappointed of the Papacy by election of Clement VII, Convocation and Parliament both met From the clergy Wolsey

Skelton

then got a subsidy of half their annual revenue, from the laity he asked four shillings in the pound, and got half that amount. The supreme minister, then rising yearly in power and wealth, was housed luxuriously in his palace at Hampton Court, the English people suffered from his exactions, and he was daily pointed at by Church reformers, who inveighed against the "pomp and pride" of a high clergy, more ready to shear than feed their sheep. Then it was that John Skelton, who felt with the people, poured upon Wolsey from the voice of one the wrath of many. His form of verse was itself popular—earnest, whimsical, with torrents of rhyme added to short lines kindred in accent and alliteration to the old national form of verse. His "Speke Parrot," in Chaucer's seven-lined stanza, spoke its satire through a medley of apt sayings, jumbled together and pleasantly blended with scraps from the parrot's feast of languages. The parrot appeared frequently as a Court bird in the European literature of these times, and although parrots had been brought into Europe by the followers of Alexander the Great, many centuries before, their diffusion in the earlier years of the sixteenth century was due to the followers of Columbus, for it was one of the smaller results of the discovery of the New World. Skelton's Parrot was gaily painted as a ladies' pet, and a philologist who picked up phrases in all tongues, and also, as he said,

"Speke Parrot"

> "Such shredis of sentence, strowed in the shop
> Of auncyent Aristippus and such other mo
> I gader togyther and close in my crop."

Whatever else may be obscure in his whimsically disjointed oracles, it is clear that he meant Henry VIII and Wolsey by the dogs Bo-ho and Hough-ho (Bow-wow and Wow-wow), when he said—

> "Bo ho doth bark well, but Hough ho he ruleth the ring,
> From Scarpary to Tartary renown therein doth spring,

With, He said, and We said, I wot now what I wot
Quod magnus est dominus Judas Scarioth "

Elsewhere Wolsey was he who makes men to jumble, to stumble, to tumble down like fools, to lower, to drop, to kneel, to stoop, and to play couch-quail "He carrieth a king in his sleeve, if all the world fail" Since Deucalion's flood, spoke the Parrot, there were never seen "so many noble bodies under one daw's head, so many thieves hanged and thieves never the less, so much prisonment for matters not worth an haw, so bold a bragging butcher, and flesh sold so dear, so many plucked partridges, and so fat quails, so mangy a mastiff cur the greyhound's peer, so fat a maggot bred of a flesh-fly, was never such a filthy Gorgon, nor such an epicure, since Deucalion's flood I make thee fast and sure"

The same public scorn of Wolsey was poured in Skeltonic rhyme through Skelton's "Why Come ye Not to Court?"

"Why Come ye not to Court?"

All was wrong in the land, the English nobles were extinguished under the red hat "Our barons be so bold, into a mouse-hole they would run away and creep, like a mayny of sheep, dare not look out at door, for dread of the mastiff cur, for dread of the butcher's dog would worry them like an hog" "I pray God save the king," says Skelton, "wherever he go or ride, I pray God be his guide" But "once yet again of you I would frayne (ask), Why come ye not to Court? To which Court? To the King's Court, or to Hampton Court? Nay, to the King's Court the King's Court should have the excellence But Hampton Court hath the pre-eminence, and Yorkes Place with my lordes grace, to whose magnificence is all the confluence, suits, and supplications, embassades of all nations A straw for law, it shall be as he will He regardeth lordes no more than pots hordes, he is in such elation of his exaltation, and the sup-

portation of our sovereign lord, that, God to record, he ruleth all at will without reason or skill Howbeit the primordial of his wretched original, and his base progeny, and his greasy genealogy—he came of the sang-royal that was cast out of a butcher's stall" In more than 1,200 of such short lines, Skelton's "Why Come ye Not to Court?" poured out the anger of the people against Wolsey—

> "He maketh so proude pretens
> That in his equipolens
> He jugyth him equivalent
> With God omnipotent
> But yet beware the rod,
> And the stroke of God"

Skelton felt deeply, or he could not have braved Wolsey in his day of power with so bold a satire In this poem he painted the condition of the Court

"Colin Clout"

There was yet another piece, his "Colin Clout," which also denounced Wolsey, but of which the main purpose was to paint the condition of the country Colin Clout represented in his poem the poor Englishman of the day, rustic or town-bred The name blends the two forms of life Colin is from *colonus* (tiller of the soil), whence clown, Clout, or Patch, sign of a sedentary calling, stands for the town mechanic, such as Bottom the Weaver, and his "crew of patches, base mechanicals" In Skeltonic verses, about equal in number to those of "Why Come ye Not to Court?" Colin Clout uttered his simple thought upon the troubles of the Church, and all the evil that had come of the corruption of the bishops and high churchmen "That the people talk this, somewhat there is amiss," said Skelton In this poem the reference to Wolsey was only incidental, and the design was to sustain the Church by showing what reform of discipline it needed if it was to "let Colin Clout have none manner of cause to moan" While bishops' mules

eat gold, "their neighbours die for meat" Heresies multiply—

> " Men hurt their souls
> Alas, for Goddes will,
> Why sit ye, prelates, still,
> And suffer all this ill ?
> Ye bishops of estates
> Should open the broad gates
> Of your spiritual charge,
> And come forth at large,
> Like lanterns of light,
> In the people's sight,
> In pulpits awtentyke
> For the weal publyke
> Of priesthood in this case "

Colin Clout closed his rhyming with a prayer to Christ,

> " Such grace that He us send
> To rectify and amend
> Things that are amiss
> When that His pleasure is Amen "

The verse of these pieces has been called Skeltonic, and was imitated by writers on both sides of the argument It was in lines of varying accentuation, but chiefly iambic, and usually, though not always, six-syllabled, with end-rhymes double, triple, quadruple, or more, that danced forward in little shifting torrents—a rustic verse, as he called it, that served admirably to express either a rush of wrath or the light freaks of playfulness In such a measure—suited well, also, to recitation by the chanters of old ballads *—the

* "Colin Clout" was current before it was printed, as appears from Skelton's reference to the refusal to allow the piece to be printed—

> " And so it semeth they play
> Whiche hate to be corrected
> Whan they be infected,
> Nor wyll suffre this booke
> By hoke ne by croke

scholar-poet, whom his enemies called a buffoon, spoke home-truths for his countrymen His fearless speech obliged him to take refuge from the power of Wolsey by claiming the right of sanctuary in Westminster Abbey, and he died sheltered by Abbot Islip in June, 1529 In the following October Wolsey was deprived of the Great Seal, and he survived his fall little more than a year, dying in November, 1530 Skelton's most direct and bitterest attacks on Wolsey are in his two poems called "Speak Parrot," and "Why Come ye not to Court?" In the latter part of "Colin Clout" Wolsey is pointed at again and again, but there is less in this poem of the mere bitterness of the conflict, although not less of religious earnestness in its delicate blending of the voice of the people with touches of irony What Skelton battled for in the days of Henry VIII, Spenser sought under Elizabeth, and Milton under the Stuarts Spenser, indeed, in his first published book was so full of the same zeal that appears in Skelton's "Colin Clout," that he adopted from that poem the name by which he always spoke of himself in his verses

Among Skelton's other poems, two have yet to be named One of these was a coarse, humorous piece upon the Brewing or "Tunning of Elynour Rummyng," who

> Printed for to be,
> For that no man shulde se
> Nor rede in any scrolles
> Of theyr dronken nolles,
> Nor of theyr noddy polles,
> Nor of theyr sely soules,
> Nor of some witlesse pates
> Of dyuers great estates,
> As well as other men"

The first editions of "Colin Clout" were undated There were five several impressions, by Richard Kele, John Wyghte, Anthony Kytson, Abraham Veale, and Thomas Godfray

kept an ale-house on a hill by Leatherhead, and became known to the courtiers of Henry VIII when the Court was at Nonsuch, about six miles off The piece is a foil to "Philip Sparrow," contrasting, with the simple innocence of a well trained girl, the filthiness of a company of women who debase themselves for drink, and, if they want money, give their household goods, their hose, their shoes, their husband's clothes, their thread, even the rosary, for the foul Elynour's unclean strong ale The piece is directed wholly against the degradation of the women of the people Elynour and her house, and the women who frequent it, are a very homely rendering to simple wits of the repulsive aspects of intemperance in women

"The Tunning of Elynour Rummyng"

The other piece, in 1600 lines, chiefly of Chaucer stanza, is "A ryght delectable Tratyse vpon a goodly Garlande or Chapelet of Laurell studiously devised" at Sheriff Hutton Castle That castle is about ten miles from York, and belonged in Skelton's time to the Crown, but was occupied by the Duke of Norfolk, who had a grant of it for life The Goodly Laurel Garland that gave rise to the poem was embroidered in coloured silks, with gold and pearls, by the ladies of Sheriff Hutton Castle and young friends of theirs, to ornament the robe Skelton wore at Court as Poet Laureate The poem is his gift in return, including a piece of verse in compliment to every lady who had put a stitch into the work

"The Garlande of Laurel"

Skelton imagines himself in the woods by Sheriff Hutton, where he hears sound of the hunt, leans against a great tree, sleeps and dreams He dreams that he sees Pallas in a rich pavilion The Queen of Fame comes to her with complaint that Pallas had commanded Skelton to be registered by Fame with laureate triumph in her Court But he was idle, wondrous slack, and but for the good word of Pallas, says the Queen of Fame, "out of my bokis full

sone I shulde hym rase" Pallas befriends the poet whom the Queen of Fame condemns Pallas points to the evil rout of folly that is advanced by Fame as readily as if it were attached to Wisdom The Queen of Fame at least requires that Skelton shall present himself, and show some cause "with laureat tryumphe why he sholde be crownde" Then Pallas bids the trumpets to blow bararag, and all the poets to be summoned The throng of those who seek Fame is described with a humour caught from Chaucer Then come the poets—Orpheus first, lamenting Daphne changed into the Laurel The trees move to his music, and the stump against which Skelton leans "sterte all at once a hundrethe fote back" With that he sprang towards the tent of Pallas, and saw the crowding in of poets and great writers of old, with some of the moderns, as "Plutarch and Petrarch" At last came three with their arms twined together— Gower, Chaucer, Lydgate—each of whom greeted Skelton kindly and had modest answer The three then brought him to the pavilion of Pallas and to the rich palace of Fame, leaving him outside in charge of Occupation, who is Fame's registrar Occupation knew him—

> "Of your aqueintaunce I was in tymes past,
> Of studyous doctryne when at the Port Salu
> Ye fyrste aryued , whan broken was your mast
> Of worldly trust, then did I you rescu"

Then Occupation took him round a wall enclosing the domain of Fame, with a gate for entry from each nation There was an evil crowd outside the English gate Then he was lost in cloud, and when the cloud had passed he was in a garden where the Laurel grows In that Laurel the Phœnix lives, and the Olive grows near it, balm against all cankers Occupation took the poet to a fair chamber in this Paradise,

> "Where the noble Cowntes of Surrey in a chayre
> Sat honorably, to whome did repaire

Of ladys a beue* with all due reuerence,
'Syt downe, fayre ladys, and do your diligence!'

"'Come forth, ientylwomen, I pray you,' she sayd,
'I haue contryud for you a goodly warke,
And who can worke beste now shall be asayde,
A Cronell of Lawrell with verduris light and darke
I have deuysyd for Skelton my clerke,
For to his seruyce I haue suche regarde
That of our bownte we wyll hym rewarde"

The countess and her daughters and companions were the poet's friends, "for yet of women he never said shame," except of brawling counterfeits Then the ladies brought their silks and frames and weaving pins to work the chaplet, and Occupation told Skelton that he must shape some goodly conceit, "in goodly wordés pleasauntly comprysed," for those who had thus fallen so fast to work on his behalf This is the introduction to the series of graceful little poems in different measures, with fitting refrains, addressed to each of the needlewomen in turn, some being children The workers who received such thanks were the Countess of Surrey, her children Elizabeth and Muriel Howard, Lady Anne Dacres, Mistresses Margery Wentworth, Margaret Tylney, Jane Blennerhasset, Isabel Pennell, Margaret Hussey, Gertrude Statham, Isabel Knight Then Occupation took the poet again to the Queen of Fame, and read from her Book of Remembrance a list of some of Skelton's works, to meet objection to his wearing the laurel garland The list includes lost works, and is, therefore, of much value as a guide to research When the list had been read there was a cry from thousands of "Triumpha! Triumpha!" clarions sounded, and the din awoke the poet from his dream

After the manner of the "Flyting" of Dunbar and

Beue, bevy

Kennedy in Scotland, of Luigi Pulci and Matteo Franco in Italy, of Sagon and Marot in France, and others of their kind, Skelton, having been challenged to a scolding match by Sir Christopher Garnesche, one of Henry VIII's gentlemen-ushers, took part in such a contest, and wrote four poems against Garnesche "by the kynges most noble commaundement" Garnesche's part of the controversy being lost, we miss the personalities that would have given some hint of detail in Skelton's history

Skelton and Garnesche

Contest against corrupt ambition in the Church took many forms in many lands, and was often as direct as Skelton's attack upon Wolsey On the 22nd of May, 1498, Savonarola, with two of his followers, had been hanged before the Old Palace at Florence His fervent zeal was for the triumph of soul over body, for the putting away of worldliness and unbelief, and for the shaping of a Christian Commonwealth that found its pattern in the spirit of the Christ-Child Though ineffectual as a direct attack upon corruptions of the World and of the Church, it nevertheless lifted the hearts of other earnest men who would contribute to the shaping of the future Pico, Prince of Mirandola—whose age was not yet thirty-two when he died, three or four years before Savonarola—had learnt from the reformer to find the crown of his wide studies in child like obedience to the law of Christ It was characteristic of Thomas More that in his earlier life, in 1510, he was publishing a translation of Pico's Life and Works In the same year, 1510, John Colet, Dean of St Paul's, was bestowing the fortune left him by his father upon the foundation of St Paul's School He had felt the touch of Savonarola's spirit when he went for the new scholarship to Italy He had used Greek as an aid to study of the Scriptures, had interpreted Christian doctrine zealously through the Epistles of St Paul, and had passed on to diligent

The Spirit of Reform

John Colet

instruction of his people in the life, and words, and mind of Christ, with whom he sought, as far as in him lay, to reconcile the world He knew that the best hope of lifting the minds of men lies in a right use of the teacher's power to guide children He placed over the Master's chair in his schoolroom an image of the Child Jesus, to whom the school was dedicated, with the motto, "Hear ye Him" His statutes said that his intent by this school was "specially to increase knowledge, and worshipping of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and good Christian life and manners in the children" The grammar he had asked Linacre to write for his children being beyond Colet's estimate of their powers, he was obliged, as we have seen, to decline it, and to shape another in companionship with the good friend and scholar, William Lilly, who agreed to work with him as his first head master

William Lilly, born at Odiham, Hants, in 1468, was about two years younger than Colet, and had also been educated at Magdalene College, Oxford After taking his first degree, Lilly went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem It was on his way back that he studied Greek at Rhodes, and afterwards at Rome He had been head master of St Paul's School for twelve years, when he died of the plague His most famous book was the Latin Grammar, produced for the use of the new school, and familiar to boys of many English schools for many generations It was first published in 1513 The preface was written, with view to his Ipswich school, by Wolsey, not yet cardinal, but in the year of its publication Dean of York The English "Rudiments" were written by Dean Colet, who wanted confidence in his own Latinity The English syntax and the rules in Latin verse for genders, beginning "Propria quæ maribus," and for past tenses and supines, beginning "As in præsenti," were by William Lilly The Latin syntax was chiefly the work of

William Lilly

Erasmus, and the great currency of the book was the work of Henry VIII, who established its orthodoxy by declaring it penal publicly to teach any other

In a "lytell Proheme" to this book, Colet said "I pray God all may be to His honour, and to the erudition and profit of children, my countrymen, Londoners especially, whom, digesting this little work, I had always before mine eyes, considering more what was for them than to show any great cunning, willing to speak the things often before spoken, in such manner as gladly young beginners and tender wits might take and conceive Wherefore I pray you all little babes, all little children, learn gladly this little treatise, and commend it diligently unto your memories, trusting of this beginning that ye shall proceed and grow to perfect literature, and come at the last to be great clerks And lift up your little white hands for me, which prayeth for you to God, to whom be all honour and imperial majesty and glory Amen"

Erasmus, who never ceased to be grateful for the influence of Colet on his mind when he first went as a poor scholar to Oxford, wrote also for his friend's school a little book, *De Copia Verborum*

Colet's Convocation Sermon

In February, 1512, Colet preached in St Paul's Cathedral, at the request of Archbishop Warham, the sermon at the opening of a meeting of Convocation, summoned chiefly to obtain a vote of money from the Church for the king's service, and also, if Richard Fitzjames, Bishop of London, had his way, for action against heresy To the assembled bishops and clergy Colet, with modesty of tone, but with unflinching firmness, told the need of a reform beginning with themselves Their worldliness and covetousness, their lust of the flesh and pride of life, were urged home to them as evils that harmed the Church far more than the heresies that put them to the trial of their faith and called for confirmation of right doctrine.

Reformation, he said boldly, should begin with you, the bishops Unlearned men, or men of evil lives, ought not to be admitted to the care of souls You must put an end to the trafficking in benefices Devout pastors should dwell among their people Wealth of the Church should not be spent in pomps and luxuries, but in things useful for the teaching of the laity, to whom a faithful clergy ought to be example of all good

Richard Fitzjames, Bishop of London from 1506 until his death in 1522, was an able and zealous man—zealous in many good ways, and zealous also as a strong opponent of the men who followed in the steps of Wyclif, and appeared to Fitzjames a danger to the Church He stood on the old breakwater and sought to guard them from the rising tide Dean Colet's systematic teaching from his pulpit, in sequences of sermons on the words of Christ, on the Lord's Prayer, on the Creed, brought Lollards to St Paul's The bishop heard how, with such men present and approving, Colet spoke plain words upon the need of purer lives among the clergy He had translated, also, the Lord's Prayer into English for common use, and he had Greek taught to the boys in his new school Bishop Fitzjames thought Colet mischievous, and would have deprived him—perhaps burnt him as a heretic—if Colet had not found a safe friend in Archbishop Warham After the sermon to the clergy, Fitzjames endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to fix charges of heresy upon his dean

Colet, like his friends More and Erasmus, was opposed strongly to wars of ambition, waged by princes of the earth on one another He was not afraid to speak as plainly to the king as he had spoken to the magnates of the Church On Good Friday, 1513, Dr Colet was preacher for the day, before the king, in the Chapel Royal The king was then deep in preparations for invading France Colet preached upon the

Colet's Sermon before the King

theme of the day, Christ's Victory, and contrasted the true Christian's spiritual warfare with the wars prompted by hatred and ambition, with the battle-fields on which—as Erasmus described the sermon—Colet showed how hard it is to die a Christian Henry VIII, then twenty-two years old, without abating in zeal for the invasion of France, sought in a long conversation to discuss with the plain-speaking dean his motives and his policy, from the Christian point of view on which the sermon had insisted The king, after talking with him in the garden for an hour or two, declared unbroken trust in the divine

Statecraft

Henry VIII was at this time a handsome young man, graceful and vigorous of body, a good jouster, a good dancer, and gifted naturally with a quick intelligence that had been cultivated from his early childhood by John Skelton and others He was strict in observing hours of prayer, and paid much attention to questions of theology In November, 1511, King Henry had joined his wife's father Ferdinand, in league with Pope Julius II and the Venetians, against France The force he sent over in the summer of 1512 returned discredited There was to be no such failure in the expedition of 1513 Fourteen thousand men were sent over in May The young king himself soon followed with more soldiers, and was joined by eight thousand German mercenaries The Emperor Maximilian served under him They chased the French force sent to relief of Terouenne, in their six-mile flight known as the Battle of the Spurs They took Tournay, and while they were besieging Tournay Henry VIII of England heard from Queen Katherine of the death of James IV of Scotland on the Field of Flodden In October Henry returned, after concluding a new treaty with Ferdinand and Maximilian for attack on France in the next fighting season

But when that season came, Leo X had succeeded Julius as Pope, both Ferdinand and Maximilian had lost interest

in the league, the King of France made peace, and on the 9th of October, 1514, Henry VIII married his sister Mary, aged sixteen, to Louis XII of France, aged fifty-three She had been married by proxy in December, 1508, to Prince Charles of Castile, but that engagement was now broken off She was in love with Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who had married an Ann Brown, still living, and had divorced a Margaret Mortymer on the ground that he and she were in the second and third degrees of affinity, and that he was first cousin once removed to her former husband As Louis XII died within three months of his marriage, and the Duke of Suffolk was sent to Paris to congratulate Francis I on his accession to the crown of France, Charles Brandon snatched a marriage with the young queen-dowager Mary's brother Henry would have given his consent to that marriage if he had been asked for it, but as he was not asked he took, for satisfaction, his sister's plate and jewels, and a bond for the repayment, by annual instalments, of £24,000, as cost of her dowry to King Louis He had previously seized goods of his sister Margaret

Francis I, having renewed the peace with England, went off to fight in Italy and won the battle of Marignano in September, 1515 The Pope, in the same month, by the King of England's wish, made Wolsey cardinal On the 18th of February, 1516, the princess was born who afterwards became Queen Mary On the 23rd of January, 1516, by the death of his grandfather, Ferdinand, Charles Prince of Castile became, at the age of sixteen, King of Spain, in joint rule with his insane mother Joanna It was not until June, 1519, that, after the death of Maximilian, he was elected, at the age of nineteen, emperor as Charles V

Dean Colet's health had been failing He had become weary of the oppositions of his bishop, and wrote to Erasmus of a wish to retire from active life and end his days

with the Carthusians But he died in harness On the 18th of November, 1515, he preached in Westminster Abbey upon Wolsey's installation as Cardinal, and, faithful still, cautioned the great prelate against ambition In 1518, a third attack of the dangerous sweating sickness warned him to close his earthly reckonings, and he spent his last month in completion of the statutes of his school, and other active labour for its interests He died in 1519, on the 16th of September

Colet's Last Years

Colet's Convocation Sermon was printed by Berthelet without date, perhaps in his lifetime, otherwise, except the grammar for his school, although his pen was not inactive, he kept his works unpublished, and left the MSS to his executors "A right fruitful Admonition concerning the order of a good Christian Man's Life made by the famous Dr Colet," was first printed in 1534. His two treatises on the Hierarchies of Dionysius, his treatises on the Sacraments of the Church, his exposition of Paul's Epistle to the Romans and of his First Epistle to the Corinthians, his Commentary on the First Epistle of Peter, and his letters on the Mosaic account of the Creation, all remained in MS until they were edited and published by a worthy successor of John Ritwise, the first surmaster of the school They were edited by the Rev J H Lupton, during the ten years from 1867 to 1876

Erasmus was of Colet's mind in applying simple Christianity as test of right or wrong in royal policy, and so was Thomas More Erasmus, in 1499, left Oxford, where he had been under the influence of Colet More went earlier to his law studies, Erasmus crossed to France, with the intention of using money that he had earned, and received from friends, as means of life while studying in Italy But, Henry VII having forbidden the exportation of precious metals, his custom-house officers took for his majesty the gold crowns out of the scholar's purse

Erasmus

Erasmus, therefore, was detained in France with broken health, unable to pass on into Italy, though saved from absolute want by a noble lady through good offices of her son's tutor. Erasmus had first printed his "Adages" in 1501. In 1503 he published his *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*—an Art of Piety, as he called it in one of his letters, showing how Christ was to be followed in the warfare of a Christian. The little book made light of quarrel over dogma, laying stress upon the way of life that answered to the teaching of the Gospel. As the movement for Church reformation spread, that book—little observed at first—was more and more drawn into use. It was fastened upon by the Reformers, and it was a Manual in which calm scholars, who made right use of their learning, took delight. It was translated out of Latin into modern languages, and spread in course of time the fame of its writer throughout Europe. That would be little, if we could not add that it helped many to bring their lives into more practical accordance with the wisdom that is from above. Erasmus returned to England in 1506, and stayed with More in his chambers by the Charterhouse. As travelling tutor to two sons of Henry VII.'s chief physician, Dr. Baptista, Erasmus then was enabled to reach Italy. He took his doctor's degree at Turin. Upon the accession of Henry VIII. his English friends, who were his dearest friends, invited his return to England. He came back when Sebastian Brant's "Ship of Fools" was newly published, and in his friend More's house in Bucklersbury Erasmus wrote his *Moriæ Encomium*. This "Praise of Folly" was a witty satire that included condemnation of the vanity of argument and study over what is high beyond the reach of human knowledge, and neglect of the plain teaching that establishes the hope of life not on cowls, matins, or fastings, but on the practice of faith and charity. Kings care for themselves, not for their people. Popes take the sword and give themselves to war,—to war, which is a

thing so savage that it becomes wild beasts rather than men The "Praise of Folly," written by Erasmus for the pleasure of More and his English friends, was sent to press by them, and printed at Paris in 1511

It was during this visit to England that Erasmus taught at Cambridge, and helped Colet in his work at the founding of St Paul's School He was busy also upon the Greek text of the New Testament, and upon the works of St Jerome In July, 1514, he left England for Basel, where he was soon hard at work with Frobenius, his printer He revisited England in 1515, and expressed his contempt for the policy of kings in a vigorous passage then inserted in a new edition of the "Adages," which was also being printed by Froben at Basel *

We left Thomas More † studying law at Lincoln's Inn, and seeking to subdue the flesh, in the year of the death of his patron, Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury That was in the year 1500, from which date More's course of life has now to be continued He had been born on the 7th of February, 1478, had entered Lincoln's Inn in February, 1496, at the age of eighteen, after a year or two at New Inn, which was an Inn of Chancery dependent upon Lincoln's Inn It is probable that during the first years of his law study in London, he did not wholly forsake Oxford His law study was so successful that for three years he held an appointment as reader of law at Furnivall's Inn, another of the Inns of Chancery dependent on his Inn of Court He also carried on the studies of which Oxford was the centre with such thoroughness that he gave lectures on Augustine *De Civitate Dei* in St Lawrence Jewry, with Grocyn, who was rector there, for one of his hearers Among other pieces of

Thomas More

* This is pointed out by Mr Frederic Seebohm in his "Oxford Reformers of 1498"—a wise book, though not always fair to Rome

† "E W" vii 36

English verse written by More in his earlier years, was an ode on the death of Queen Elizabeth of York, in 1503, written in Chaucer stanzas, each closed with the words "Lo! now here I lie" In 1504, at the age of twenty-six, he entered Parliament, and by his opposition to the king's extravagant demands for a subsidy upon the marriage of his daughter Margaret to James IV of Scotland, caused a reduction of the grant to little more than a fourth of the sum asked for One went and told the king that a beardless boy had disappointed all his expectations During the last years, therefore, of Henry VII, More was under the displeasure of the king, and had thoughts of leaving the country He did, in fact, go abroad in 1508, when he paid short visits to Paris and Louvain But in the first years of the reign of Henry VIII he was rising to large practice in the law courts, where it is said he refused to plead in cases which he thought unjust, and took no fees from widows, orphans, or the poor In the spring of 1505 he married He would have preferred marrying the second daughter of John Colt, of New Hall, in Essex, but chose her elder sister Jane, that he might not subject her to the discredit of being passed over Later in the year of his marriage, when Erasmus paid him a visit, the friends amused themselves with translations of Lucian from Greek into Latin More translated three Dialogues—Cynicus, Menippus, and Philopseudes—and wrote a Declamation in reply to Lucian's on tyrannicide At the end of the year 1505 his daughter Margaret was born Then followed two more daughters, Elizabeth and Cecilia, in 1506 and 1507, and a son, John, in 1509 His wife, Jane, died in 1510, the year in which Thomas More was made Under Sheriff of London Before the end of the year More married again As under-sheriff, More heard civil causes on Thursday mornings with great satisfaction to the people, and his practice as a barrister grew rapidly In 1513, Thomas More, then Under-

Sheriff of London, is said to have written his "History of the Life and Death of King Edward V., and of the Usurpation of Richard III.," first printed in 1557, from a MS. in his writing. One passage in it could not have been written before 1514. The book seems to contain the knowledge and opinions of More's patron, Morton, who, as an active politician in the times described, was in peril of his own life from Richard III. When, in describing the death of Edward IV., and reporting his last words to the bystanders, it is said, "He laid him down on his right side with his face towards them," Morton, an eye-witness, rather than More, who was then a five-year-old child, seems to be speaking. Sir George Buck, in a eulogy of Richard III., published in 1646, says that Morton "wrote a book in Latin against King Richard, which came afterwards into the hands of Mr. More, some time his servant," and adds a note that "the book was lately in the hands of Mr. Roper, of Eltham, as Sir Thomas Hoby, who saw it, told me." There is some reason, then, to think that More's MS. may have been a translation of his patron's Latin history, and therefore a contemporary record, though ascribed to More by the son-in-law who first printed it, twenty-two years after More's death. The work, which comes down to us in Latin and in English, if wholly More's, is based on information given to him by his patron Morton.

In the year 1513, when More's "History of Edward V. and Richard III." is said to have been written, Henry VIII. undertook that expedition into France about which he had reasoned with John Colet after hearing his Good Friday sermon. In this war the king's chief helper was Thomas Wolsey, whom we left at the end of Henry VII.'s reign, newly made Dean of Lincoln, though we have since had to speak of him in higher places of authority. After the accession of Henry VIII., Wolsey obtained the living of Torrington, in Devon, was made also

Thomas Wolsey.

Registrar of the Garter, Canon of Windsor, Dean of York Dr Fox, Bishop of Winchester, was Secretary of State and Lord Privy Seal To him Wolsey in part owed his advancement Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, was Lord Treasurer, and had more of the new king's confidence than the Bishop of Winchester thought good for his own interests Therefore Dr Fox sought to advance Wolsey, as a creature of his own, in the king's personal favour, and, to place him in closer relations with the king, obtained for him the post of Royal Almoner From that point Wolsey's rise was rapid He made his society delightful, knew how to win the king to his own counsels, and never flinched from work In the campaign of 1513, Wolsey, as Royal Almoner, took charge of the victualling of the forces Wolsey crossed to France with the king, counselling and aiding with his great administrative power In France he received from King Henry, after Tournay had been taken, the rich bishopric of which it was the seat Soon after their return, the king made his friend Bishop of Lincoln Before the end of the year 1514 the see of York fell vacant, and Wolsey was made Archbishop of York. Lavish gifts of the king followed rapidly Wolsey obtained administration of the see of Bath and Wells, the temporalities of the Abbey of St Albans, soon afterwards in succession there were added to his archbishopric the bishoprics of Durham and Winchester He had the revenues of a Sovereign, lived pompously, and favoured learning From 1515 to 1523 no parliament was summoned, Henry and Wolsey held absolute rule In November, 1515, Wolsey formally received, in Westminster Abbey, from Leo X, the rank of cardinal, which had been granted in September Dean Colet preached, as we have seen, the installation sermon Towards the close of December, in the same year, Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, after a vain struggle against usurpation of his power by the strong rival archbishop, yielded to him the office of Lord

Chancellor. It was in these days that Thomas More, not knighted yet, wrote his "Utopia."

In May, 1515, More had been joined in a commission with Cuthbert Tunstal and others to confer with the Ambassadors of Charles V., then only Archduke of Austria, upon controversies between London merchants and the foreign merchants who claimed special treaty interests. More was joined to the embassy as the barrister who had highest reputation with the Londoners for skill in cases of disputed shipping interests. Tunstal, a rising churchman, held several preferments, and was chancellor to Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury. He was made in that year, 1515, Archdeacon of Chester, and in May, 1516, Master of the Rolls. On this embassy More was absent more than six months, and during that time he established friendship with Peter Giles (Latinised Ægidius), a scholarly and courteous young man, who was secretary to the municipality of Antwerp. More described him to Erasmus as so learned, witty, modest, and so true a friend, that he would have given willingly a great part of his fortune to be intimate with such a man.

More's "Utopia."

More's "Utopia" is in two parts, of which the second, describing the place (Οὐτόπος—or Nusquama, as he called it sometimes in his letters—"Nowhere")—was probably written in the latter part of 1515; the first part, introductory, early in 1516. The book was first printed at Louvain, late in 1516, under the editorship of Erasmus, Peter Giles, and other of More's friends. It was then revised by More, and printed by Froben, at Basel, in November, 1518. It was reprinted at Paris and Vienna, but was not printed in England during More's lifetime. Its first publication in this country was in the English translation made in Edward VI.'s reign (1551) by Ralph Robinson. The name of the book has given an adjective to our language—we call an impracticable scheme Utopian. Yet, under the veil of a playful

fiction, the talk is intensely earnest, and abounds in practical suggestion. It is the work of a scholarly and witty Englishman, who attacks in his own way the chief political and social evils of his time. The piece was a political satire on the vanities of statecraft and the shortcomings of what then passed for the highest form of civilised society. Its customs were weighed in the philosopher's balance, and found wanting. The New World had been discovered by the Cabots and by Columbus at the end of the fifteenth century, and in the earlier years of the sixteenth imagination was stirred by the Latin book, published in 1507, in which Amerigo Vespucci—after whom America was named—described his four voyages, a narrative of which More spoke as being "abroad in every man's hand." Vespucci, in the account of his fourth voyage, tells of twenty-four men left in a fort, with arms and provision for six months.* More imagines a traveller, whom he calls Raphael Hythloday, to have been one of these twenty-four men; to have made with companions further exploration of his own about the region of the New World, and so to have come upon the otherwise unknown island of Utopia. While playfully trifling with the impossible constitution of an island that is Nowhere, More touches in every page with fine irony upon the actual state of Europe, and especially of England, in his time. Sometimes the condemnation takes the form of praise, in which the irony was manifest to every reader while the book was new. Although the word Utopian is now taken to characterise a scheme of which the hope rests upon impossible conditions, a scheme wholly unpractical, there were few more practical books published in Henry VIII.'s reign than Sir Thomas More's "Utopia." It spoke words of deep earnest in the manner of a jest, and could draw men's eyes to the most

* April 3, 1504. "Relictus igitur in Castello præfato Christicolis xxiiij et cum illis xij machinis ac aliis plurimis armis, una cum provisione pro sex mensibus sufficienter."

sacred and substantial abuses, while it seemed intent on blowing bubbles in the air. In February, 1517, Erasmus was advising a correspondent to send for "Utopia," if he had not yet read it, and if he wished to see the true source of all political evils. In March, 1517, Erasmus spoke of a burgomaster at Antwerp who was so pleased with the book that he knew it all by heart.

Utopia.

Having commended the book in a witty letter to his friend Giles, More tells in the first part how he was sent into Flanders with Cuthbert Tunstal, "whom the king's majesty of late, to the great rejoicing of all men, did prefer to the office of Master of the Rolls;" how the commissioners of Charles met them at Bruges, and presently returned to Brussels for instructions; and how More then went to Antwerp, where he found a pleasure in the society of Peter Giles, which soothed his desire to see again his wife and children, from whom he had been four months away. One day, when he came from the service in Antwerp Cathedral, More fables that he saw his friend Giles talking to "a certain stranger, a man well stricken in age, with a black, sunburnt face, a long beard, and a cloak cast homely about his shoulders," whom More judged to be a mariner. Peter Giles introduced him to his friend as Raphael Hythloday (the name, from the Greek ὕθλος and δάιος, means "knowing in trifles"), a man learned in Latin and profound in Greek, a Portuguese wholly given to philosophy, who left his patrimony to his brethren, and, desiring to know far countries, went with Amerigo Vespucci in the three last of the voyages of which an account had been printed in 1507. From the last voyage he did not return with Vespucci, but got leave to be one of the twenty four men left in Gulike. Then he travelled on until, having reached Calicut, he found there one of the ships of his own country to take him home. So it was that in the course of travel Raphael Hythloday had visited the island of Utopia, unknown to other men; had dwelt there for five years, and had become familiar with its customs. More's book, which expresses much of the new energy of independent thought, was thus associated with the fresh discovery of the New World. The Cabots had reached the continent in 1497, on the coast of Labrador. Columbus reached it in 1498, near the Island of Trinidad, off the northern coast of South America. The Florentine, Amerigo Vespucci, made his first expedition in 1499, under command of Ojeda; his second in 1500. His third and fourth

voyages were made in 1501 and 1503, in Portuguese ships in the service of King Emanuel of Portugal. In 1505 he returned into the service of Spain, but made no more voyages; he prepared charts, and prescribed routes for voyages of other men to the New World. The fame of Amerigo's description of his voyages caused a German geographer to call the newly founded continent after his name, America. He died three or four years before Thomas More wrote his "Utopia."

After the greeting in the street, Raphael Hythloday and Peter Giles went with More to his house; "and there," says More, "in my garden, upon a bench covered with green torves, we sat down talking together." The talk was of the customs among men, and of the government of princes. Why would not Hythloday give his experience as counsellor of some great prince, since "from the prince, as from a perpetual well spring, cometh among the people the flood of all that is good or evil?" Thomas More had withheld himself from such service, and he put two reasons for doing so into the mouth of Hythloday. First, that "most princes have more delight in war (the knowledge of which I neither have nor desire) than in the good feats of peace; and employ much more study how by right or wrong to enlarge their dominions than how well and peaceably to rule and govern that they have already." Secondly, because "every king's counsellor is so wise in his own eyes that he will not allow another man's counsel, if it be not shameful, flattering assent." More had in mind the supreme counsels of Wolsey, abetting Henry VIII.'s war policy, and doing little to secure peace and well-being for the English people.

Had Hythloday ever been in England? he was asked. Yes, for a few months, not long after the insurrection of the Western Englishmen (in 1496), "which by their own miserable and pitiful slaughter was suppressed and ended." He was then much beholden to Cardinal Morton; and here More put into Raphael's mouth eulogy of Morton, with an account of discourse at his table which set forth some of those social miseries, the amending of which would better become a prince than foreign war. Some one at Morton's table praised the strict execution of justice which showed felons hanging usually by twenty at a time upon one gallows. Hythloday said he argued that death was too great a penalty for theft. Those cannot be kept from stealing who have no other way whereby to live. "Therefore in this point not you only, but also the most part of the world, be like evil schoolmasters, which be readier to beat than to teach their scholars." There were the broken soldiers who came from the wars maimed and lame. There were the crowds of idle retainers nourished in the households of great men; these were thrust out of doors, capable of nothing, when their

masters died, or they fell sick In France there was what More thought the worse plague of a standing army, then a new invention, for which war must be found, " to the end they may ever have practised soldiers and cunning man-slayers " A thousand times more regard ought to be had, said Hythloday, to needs of peace than to the needs of war Then there was the destruction of tillage and increase of pastures for the sheep of the rich abbots "They inclose all into pastures, they throw down houses, they pluck down towns, and leave nothing standing but only the church to be made a sheep house " Thus husbandmen were thrust out of their own, thus victual had grown dear Many were forced into idleness, yet the sheep suffered from murrain, and the price of wool had risen "Let not so many be brought up in idleness, let husbandry and tillage be restored, let cloth working be renewed, that there may be honest labours for this idle sort to pass their time in profitably, which hitherto either poverty hath caused to be thieves, or else now be either vagabonds or idle serving-men, and shortly will be thieves For by suffering your youth wantonly and viciously to be brought up, and to be infected even from their tender age by little and little with vice, then a' God's name to be punished when they commit the same faults after being come to man's estate, which from their youth they were ever like to do,—in this point, I pray you, what other thing do you than make thieves and then punish them?" To Hythloday's excuse for recalling this discourse at so much length, More answered, with a kind recollection of the friend and patron whom he had thus introduced into his fable, "Methought myself to be in the meantime not only at home in my country, but also through the pleasant remembrance of the Cardinal, in whose house I was brought up of a child, to wax a child again And, friend Raphael, though I did bear very great love towards you before, yet seeing you do so earnestly favour this man, you will not believe how much my love towards you is now increased " But he holds to his opinion that Hythloday would be at his right post in a prince's court Plato judges that a Common wealth will be happy either if philosophers are kings, or if kings give themselves to study of philosophy What happiness, then, can there be unless philosophers will vouchsafe to instruct kings with their good counsel? Hythloday answers, but More represents himself as arguing still against Hythloday, that the abstract truths of philosophy would, indeed, be as much out of place in a king's court as the noblest speech of Seneca would be if thrust into a comedy of Plautus, where vile bondsmen are scoffing and trifling among themselves But a ship must not be forsaken in a tempest because you cannot rule the winds A subtle management may sometimes control the ignorant and

headstrong, "and that which you cannot turn to good, so order it that it be not very bad. For it is not possible for all things to be well, unless all men were good; which, I think, will not be yet these good many years."

"In this way," said Hythloday, "nothing will be brought to pass, but that whilst I go about to remedy the madness of others, I should be even as mad as they. If I were to speak of what Plato feigns in his Republic, or the Utopians do in theirs, I should be as far away from man's present life as the rule of Christ would be if truly followed. But preachers, sly and wily men, have wrested Christianity to bring it into some agreement with the ways of men. The Utopians have all goods in common. Of what use would it be to reason among owners of property that we should follow the better plan of the Utopians?"

When Raphael Hythloday's talk in the garden had excited curiosity by its frequent reference to the way things were done in Utopia, he was persuaded to give an account of that wonderful island.

His description forms the second part of the little book. It is designedly fantastic in suggestion of details—the work of a scholar who had read Plato's "Republic," and had his fancy quickened after reading Plutarch's account of Spartan life under Lycurgus. But never was there in any old English version of "The Governail of Princes" a more direct upholding of the duty of a king in his relation to the country governed than in Thomas More's "Utopia." Beneath the veil of an ideal communism, into which there has been worked some witty extravagance, there lies a noble English argument. Sometimes More puts the case as of France when he means England. Sometimes there is ironical praise of the good faith of Christian kings, saving the book from censure as a political attack upon the policy of Henry VIII. Thus protected, More could declare boldly that it were best for the king "to content himself with his own kingdom, to make much of it, to enrich it, and to make it as flourishing as he could; to endeavour himself to love his subjects, and again to be beloved by them, willingly to live with them, peaceably to govern them, and with other kingdoms not to meddle, seeing that which he hath already is even enough for him—yea, and more than he can well turn him to." But Hythloday added, "'This mine advice, Master More, how think you it would be heard and taken?' 'So, God help me, not very thankfully, quod I.'" The prince's office, in More's "Utopia," continueth all his lifetime, unless he be deposed or put down for suspicion of tyranny. War or battle the Utopians detest as a thing very beastly, and yet to no kind of beasts in so much use as to man. They count nothing so much against glory as

glory gotten in war Therefore, although they study war, it is for self-defence, or for aid of other nations against invasion or tyranny They are ashamed if in war they have overcome with much bloodshed, and glory in a triumph won by little bloodshed, and by much expenditure of wit They hire mercenaries—especially from a fierce people, the Zapoletes—to do much of the fighting for them, next to these they use the soldiers of those for whom they fight, and then their other friends, and last of all their own citizens, whose skill and courage they support, and whose lives they cherish Husband, wife, and son may go into battle side by side to help one another, in which case it is a great reproach for the husband to come home without the wife, the wife without the husband, or the son without the father Thus, while they use all shifts to keep themselves from fighting, when they do fight it is not with a sudden rush, but growing stubbornness, and they will rather die than yield an inch In battle they seek always to strike down their adversary's captain, and so bring the contest to the quickest end They do not waste their enemies' land They defend and protect cities yielded to them, and do not sack or spoil those taken by assault They keep truces firmly War over, they give all spoil to their allies, and lay all charges of war on the conquered

In the chapter on the Religions in Utopia, More wrote of King Utopus, who conquered the country because it was distracted with quarrels about religion, that "first of all he made a decree that it should be lawful for every man to favour and follow what religion he would, and that he might do the best he could to bring other to his opinion, so that he did it peaceably, gently, quietly, and soberly, without hasty and contentious rebuking and inveighing against each other If he could not by fair and gentle speech induce them unto his opinion, yet he should use no kind of violence, and refrain from displeasant and seditious words To him that would vehemently and fervently in this cause strive and contend was decreed banishment and bondage This law did King Utopus make, not only for the maintenance of peace, which he saw through continual contention and mortal hatred utterly extinguished, but also because he thought this decree would work for the furtherance of religion"

More wrote when the days were at hand that would have yielded many bondsmen had Utopus given laws to Europe The invention of printing had caused a wide diffusion of the Bible in the

Bible study

received Latin version, known as the Vulgate Eighty editions of it were printed between the years 1462 and 1500 The new impulse given to scholarship was felt by the great scholars of the Church In 1502, Ximenez, then Primate of Spain and founder of the University of Alcala, projected an edition of the Scriptures known from Complutum, the Latin name of Alcala, its place of publication, as the Complutensian Polyglot He proposed to correct the received version of the books of the Old Testament by the Hebrew text, and those of the New Testament by the Greek text "Every theologian," he said, "should also be able to drink of that water which springeth up to eternal life at the fountain-head itself This is the reason why we have ordered the Bible to be printed in the original language with different translations To accomplish this task we have been obliged to have recourse to the knowledge of the most able philologists, and to make researches in every direction for the best and most ancient Hebrew and Greek manuscripts Our object is to revive the hitherto dormant study of the Sacred Scriptures" This work was prepared at the university of Alcala by some of the best scholars in Spain, who worked under direction of Ximenez and were maintained by his liberality Leo X became Pope in March, 1513, and the printing of the first part of the Polyglot (dedicated to him), the New Testament, was completed in folio in January, 1514 There were letters and prefaces of St Jerome and others, there was a short Greek grammar on a single leaf, and there was a short lexicon, but although money had lavishly been spent in procuring manuscripts for the determination of the text, there was no description of them, there were no specific references to their authority, no various readings In the whole of the New Testament folio there were only four critical remarks upon the text The second of the six folio volumes was ready in May, 1514, and served

The Complutensian Polyglot

as an Introduction to the Old Testament, containing a Hebrew-Chaldee lexicon, a Hebrew grammar, and other aids The other four volumes gave the books of the Old Testament in five forms—the Septuagint, the Vulgate, the Hebrew, the Chaldee text, or Targum of Onkelos, and a Latin version of the Targum The publication was completed in July, 1517, only four months before the death of its promoter The Pope's permission for the publication of the work did not appear till March, 1520, and another year elapsed before any one of the six hundred copies printed was allowed to pass the Spanish frontier

The year of the publication of "Utopia," 1516, was also the year in which Erasmus turned study of Greek to account by publishing his New Testament with the Greek text revised from collation of MSS, a Latin version, which corrected mistranslations in the Vulgate, and appended notes to explain changes of reading In the Introduction to this work, Erasmus said that the Scriptures addressed all, adapted themselves even to the understanding of children, and that it were well if they could be read by all people in all languages, that none could reasonably be cut off from a blessing as much meant for all as baptism and the other sacraments The common mechanic is a true theologian when his hopes look heavenward, he blesses those who curse him, loves the good, is patient with the evil, comforts the mourner, and sees death only as the passage to immortal life If princes practised this religion, if priests taught it instead of their stock erudition out of Aristotle and Averroes, there would be fewer wars among the nations of Christendom, less private wrath and litigation, less worship of wealth "Christ," added Erasmus, "says, He who loves me, keeps my commandments If we be true Christians, and really believe that Christ can give us more than the philosophers and kings can give, we cannot become too familiar with the New Testament" This new

Work of Erasmus upon the New Testament

edition of it was received with interest by many who soon afterwards were in strong opposition to the claims of the reformers It was revised, and several times reprinted, while Erasmus followed up his work by the issue of Latin Paraphrases of the books of the New Testament These expanded here and there for the sake of interpretation, and put into a fresh and flowing Latin style, the sense of the text, so as to bring it home at once to the less learned, and even to the learned give sometimes a livelier perception of its meaning The first paraphrase was of the Epistle to the Romans, and was first published in 1518 In 1519 followed the Epistle to the Corinthians. The demand for more caused Erasmus to paraphrase other Epistles At the beginning of 1522 appeared his paraphrase of Matthew's Gospel, dedicated to Charles V That of John's Gospel followed, with a dedication to Ferdinand I In 1523 the paraphrase of Luke's Gospel was published It was dedicated to Henry VIII, and the paraphrase of Mark's Gospel, published in 1524, was inscribed to Francis I In these dedications of the Gospel of Peace to the chief authors of discord there was something akin to the spirit of More's "Utopia"

His Paraphrases

CHAPTER VIII

CHURCH MILITANT

Martin Luther

MARTIN LUTHER, born on the 10th of November, 1483, was sixteen years younger than Erasmus and twenty-six years older than Calvin The best men differ greatly in temper and opinion, but all seek to establish what they hold to be the right Spain itself, headquarters of the coming battle against Lutheran opinion, while loyal to the Pope, had carefully guarded her church system against corrupt interference by the Court of Rome Ximenez, Archbishop of Toledo, sought to purify the monasteries He deprived unfaithful clergy of their benefices, and was careful to place over the Church bishops who were alike learned and pious The need was sore when he began his work He developed old colleges, founded, as we have seen, the University of Alcala, and fearlessly united the new learning to the old belief In no one of our battles of opinion are the good men all upon one side and the bad upon the other After long service of the Church and of the State, Ximenez died in November, 1517, eighty-two years old In that year, on the 31st of October, Martin Luther, aged thirty-four, began his career as a Reformer by affixing to the church door at Wittenberg his Ninety-five Theses against Indulgences John Tetzel had been trading actively in his town with the Pope's Indulgences, to raise money for the building of St Peter's and for a crusade against the Turks He had said that when one of his customers dropped a penny into

the box for a soul in purgatory, as soon as the money chinked in the chest the soul flew up to heaven John Hus (whose name meant "goose") had said a hundred years before, when condemned for his faith, "To-day you burn a goose; a hundred years hence a swan shall arise whom you will not be able to burn" That prophesied the advance of irrepressible thought

In his Ninety-five Theses, to any one of which he challenged opposition, and all or any of which he declared himself ready to defend, Luther assumed throughout that his adversary was not the Pope, but the Papal Commissary, who had misinterpreted the Pope's instructions His attitude was that of an orthodox Churchman who opposed heretical opinion But his doctrine was that, without repentance of the sinner, and good life ensuing, the Pope could remit no penalties but those which he had himself imposed, and that otherwise the power committed to him for the care of souls is only, as the English Church Service afterwards expressed it, "to declare and pronounce to his people, being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins" For that reason, in the reformed English Service, after a few sentences of Scripture upon transgression and forgiveness, prayer begins with a general confession of sin in which minister and people join, and the minister then, after defining the limits of his power of absolution, declares to the people that "He pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent and unfeignedly believe His holy Gospel" Then he proceeds to pray for himself and for his people, "that it may please God to grant us true repentance and His holy Spirit, that those things may please Him which we do at this present, and that the rest of our life hereafter may be pure and holy" Distinctly to maintain this, not only as true doctrine, but also as the doctrine of the Church of Rome, from which Tetzel had swerved in disobedience to the Pope's instructions, was Luther's aim throughout the ninety five sentences

that he affixed, on the last day of October, 1517, to the church door at Wittenberg.

But Luther was, by temperament, warmly combative, and in stopping every loophole to the belief that there could be pardon for unrepented sin, or that the Pope, as Head of the Church, could cancel sin by drawing at will from the infinite store of the merits of the Saviour, he put some of his propositions in aggressive form. He allowed in them confession and the fulfilment of penance, imposed by the priest, as signs and tests of humbling and repentance; but all relations of the sinner with the Church on earth ended, he said, at death. The priests had acted without understanding who, for dying men, carried on their *pœnitentias canonicas* into Purgatory; that weed had sprung up because the bishops slept. In one of the ninety-five sentences, Luther parenthetically denied to the Pope the Power of the Keys. In another he said that every Christian who truly repents is forgiven without Letters of Indulgence. But he added that the Pope's Letters of Indulgence were not to be despised, because they declare God's forgiveness. Christians should be taught, said Luther, in his forty-ninth thesis, that the Pope's Indulgence is good in as far as no trust is put in it; otherwise nothing is more hurtful, for it causes men to lose the fear of God. Christians, he said also, should be taught that money is better spent in aid of the poor than in the buying of Indulgences.

Friar Johann Tetzel withdrew to Frankfort on the Oder, where he burnt Friar Martin Luther's theses and published counter-theses. Tetzel's counter-theses were burnt in retaliation by the students at Wittenberg. More theologians joined in the argument. Dr. Johann Maier, of Eck, a village in Swabia—who was known commonly as Johann Eck—attacked Luther's theses in his *Obelisci*, and challenged his old friend Dr. Luther—zeal against zeal—to a public disputation, which was held at Leipzig in July, 1519. The

subjects of controversy were the power of the Pope, Penance, Indulgences, and Purgatory. Eck appealed to the Fathers of the Church and to the decisions of Councils. Luther appealed chiefly to Scripture, and said that Eck ran away from the Bible as the devil from the Cross. Eck also extracted from Luther in this discussion the opinion that there might be circumstances which would make it right to disobey both Pope and Council of the Church. After this Eck wrote his chief book, "On the Primacy of Peter," went to Rome, and returned to Germany with a Papal bull, dated the 15th of June, 1520, which declared Luther a heretic. A former bull had in November, 1518, asserted the Pope's power to issue Indulgences which will help not only the living, but also the dead who are in Purgatory.

At the beginning of August, 1520, Luther appealed to the Emperor and to the Christian nobles of Germany against the usurpations of the Pope, and called upon the laity to deal with the confusions of opinion in the Church. This appeal was followed on the 6th of October in the same year by another pamphlet, "On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church," which struck more especially at the Pope's claims of spiritual power. It was issued in Latin immediately after Eck's return to Leipzig with the bull that declared Luther a heretic, and Luther was not pleased at its translation into German by another hand. It was addressed to educated readers. If he had meant it for the people at large, he would himself have written it in German. This treatise dealt especially with the nature, number, and use of the Sacraments. Luther reasoned that those only were Sacraments of the Church which were ordained in Scripture and associated with visible signs, as of the water in Baptism, and of the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper. These two—Baptism and the Lord's Supper—were the only Sacraments. In these the officiating minister was but the servant of God who stood for his Master, but who had no personal authority

In the outward and visible, as in the inward and spiritual, part of any service, God only was to be known, and there was efficacy in the ceremonies of the Church only for those who in approaching them came before God conscious of sin, truly contrite, and with a sincere faith in the Gospel promises of salvation through Christ The repentant sinner was justified by his faith only, and by no act of a fellow-man This doctrine went to the foundation of the whole edifice of priestly authority It set each Christian on his knees before God only, with the Bible in his hand Luther in this book required also that when there was not a clear reason to the contrary, the words of the New Testament should be read in their plain natural sense This opened the way to a greater freedom of opinion than Luther himself was found quite ready to admit

Reply of Henry VIII to Luther

It was to this piece of Luther's that Henry VIII replied in 1521, in Latin, with his Assertion of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther—*Assertio septem Sacramentorum aduersus Martinum Lutherum, ædita ab inuictissimo Angliæ et Franciæ Rege, et Do Hyberniæ, Henrico eius Nominis octavo* It was published in London, in quarto, by Pynson, and reprinted the same year in Rome, with a liberal offer prefixed of Apostolical Indulgences to those who read it* The King of England was described in this reprint by the title which the Pope then formally gave him of Defender of the Faith In this way the words "Fidei Defensor" came to be added to the titles of an English king or queen.

In June, 1520, Leo X published a bull formally condemning as heretical forty-one propositions collected from Luther's writings The Pope gave the heretic sixty days within which he was to recant, if he would not suffer punishment

* "Librum, hunc invictiss Angliæ Regis, Fidei Defensoris contra Mart Lutherum Legentibus, decem Annorum et totidem xl Indulgentia apostolica Authoritate concessa est"

for heresy. The breach then was complete. Luther denounced "the execrable bull of Antichrist," and wholly separated himself from communion with the Church of Rome. He had denied, he said, Divine right in the Papacy, but now he knew it to be the kingdom of Babylon. Emperor Charles V., crowned in October, 1520, called his first Diet of Sovereigns and States to meet at Worms in April, 1521. Luther was summoned to appear before it, and desired no better than an opportunity of personal appeal to German princes. He was condemned beforehand by an order issued for destruction of his books. He obtained a safe-conduct, as Hus in like position had obtained a safe-conduct, and had nevertheless been seized and burnt. "I am resolved," said Luther, "to enter Worms, though as many devils set upon me as there are tiles on the house-tops." He appeared on the 17th of April, and was called upon to retract, but not allowed to defend, his opinions. "Unless I be convinced," he said, "by Scripture and Reason, I neither can nor dare retract anything; for my conscience is a captive to God's Word, and it is not safe or right to go against conscience. There I take my stand. I can do no otherwise. So help me God. Amen."

In a document known as the Edict of Worms, drawn up by the Papal Legate on the 26th of May, but dated the 8th, Luther was pronounced a heretic, and it was declared that whoever sheltered him, or printed or read his books, should be outlawed. After his return from Worms—under the ban of the Empire as well as of the Church—Luther's friend, the Elector of Saxony, protected him against more dangerous arrest by a show of seizure and imprisonment in the Castle of the Wartburg. There Luther remained for the next twelve months, busy upon a translation of the Bible into German. It is said by a Romanist biographer, Audin, that when, in April, 1521, on his way to the Diet of Worms, where he maintained his cause before the assembled

cardinals, bishops, and princes of Germany, as the towers of Worms came in sight Luther stood up in his carriage and first chanted his famous hymn, "Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott" (A mighty stronghold is our God), which Audin called the "Marseillaise of the Reformation"

William Tyndal.

William Tyndal was about Luther's age, born probably in 1484, at Stinchcombe, or North Nibley, Gloucestershire He was educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, graduated at Oxford, was then for some years at Cambridge, and about 1519 became tutor in the family of a Gloucestershire gentleman, Sir John Walsh, of Little Sodbury He translated into English the "Enchiridion" of Erasmus, which argues that Christian life is a warfare against evil, sustained rather by obeying Christ than by faith in scholastic dogmas As the controversy about Luther gathered strength, Tyndal supported Luther's cause so earnestly that he was cited before the Chancellor of the Diocese of Worcester, and warned In dispute afterwards with a Worcestershire divine, he said, "If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scriptures than thou dost"

About 1523—when Luther had returned to Wittenberg and published a too bitter reply to King Henry VIII —Tyndal came to London More's friend, Cuthbert Tunstal, who was at the Diet of Worms in 1521, had been made Bishop of London in October, 1522, and became Keeper of the Privy Seal in the following May Tyndal failed to obtain, through the good offices of Sir Harry Guilford, one of Sir John Walsh's friends, appointment as one of Tunstal's chaplains, but he preached some sermons at St Dunstan's, and was received into the house of Humphrey Monmouth, a rich draper, liberal of mind and purse There he was for about half a year, and as Monmouth said afterwards, when in trouble for his own opinions, "he lived like a good priest, as methought He studied most part of the day and of the

night at his book, and he would eat but sodden meat by his good will, nor drink but small beer" Tyndal was a small and thin man, who lived sparely and studied without stint He must have been already at work in Monmouth's house on his translation of the New Testament into English

Finding, as he said afterwards of himself, "not only that there was no room in my Lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England," Tyndal left England for Hamburg, where he increased his knowledge of Hebrew He was skilled in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, in Italian, Spanish, French, and German Tyndal followed Luther's method, and fifty two of his ninety glosses were simply Luther's in translation As a translator Tyndal trusted most in the Greek and Latin texts of the New Testament as given by Erasmus These he compared thoughtfully with Luther's version But he did not leave the Vulgate out of sight, or Wyclif's version that was based upon it * Although no copies of such an edition are now extant, there is reason to believe that Tyndal at once printed, somewhere on the Continent, his translation into English of two of the Gospels, those of Matthew and Mark He then, in 1525, secretly printed—beginning to print at Cologne and finishing at Worms—3,000 copies of his translation of the New Testament into English, in a quarto edition, of which only one fragment remains There was added to it immediately a second edition of 3,000 copies in octavo, printed at Worms

This was three years after Luther's publication, in September, 1522, of his translation of the New Testament into German

Edicts against the issue of his New Testament caused

* See *Anglia*, vi 277—316*(1883), for a minute inquiry by James Loring Cheney into "the Sources of Tindale's New Testament"

Luther to write a treatise on "The Secular Power," in which he held that princes were usually paltry fools, ordained only to serve God as a dignified sort of executioners for punishment of the wicked, and not even themselves carrying their artifice so far as to pretend to be good shepherds of the flock. In 1523 Luther was in full activity, and two of his followers were burnt at Brussels In October, 1524, Luther abandoned the monastic habit, and in 1525, while Tyndal was printing his New Testament, Luther, aged forty-two, married Catherine Bora, once a nun

Tyndal was aided in his work by William Roy, a Minorite friar, educated at Cambridge, whose help he needed but whom he did not like, for he described him as "a man somewhat crafty when he cometh unto new acquaintance and before he be thorough known" Tyndal adds concerning Roy that "as long as he had gotten no money, somewhat I could rule him, but as soon as he had gotten him money he became like himself again Nevertheless, I suffered all things till that was ended which I could not do alone without one both to write and to help me to compare the texts together When that was ended I took my leave, and bade him farewell for our two lives and, as men say, a day longer" The same William Roy, aided by Jerome Barlowe, another Minorite, published at Strasburg, in 1528, a satire in verse known as "The Burying of the Mass," with "Rede me and be not wroth" for the first words upon its title-page, and a woodcut of a satirical shield of arms with two fiends as supporters, for Wolsey, who is styled "the vile butcher's son" and "the proud cardinal" It contains axes to signify cruelty, bulls' heads for sturdy furiousness, a club for tyranny, and in the centre a figure described as

William Roy

> "The mastift cur bred in Ipswich town
> Gnawing with his teeth a kingés crown"

This was in 1528, when Wolsey felt so strong in his supremacy that he could venture, without the king's knowledge, to order heralds to declare war against Spain His fall was in October, 1529

Meanwhile copies of Tyndal's translation of the New Testament, printed in 1525 at the cost of English merchants abroad, had, by their agency, reached England in March, 1526 In the same month Henry VIII received Luther's second letter to his Majesty, written in the preceding September, and printed before it reached the king In the autumn of 1526, in a sermon at Paul's Cross by Cuthbert Tunstal, then Bishop of London, Tyndal's New Testament was officially denounced, and copies of it were then publicly burnt

Tyndal's New Testament

Luther wrote on the 1st of September, 1525, a letter to Henry VIII, upon the suggestion of the King of Denmark, who believed that the King of England might yet side with the Reformers Luther, therefore, apologised for his rude answer to the king's book on the Sacraments, said he had not certainly known that the king wrote it himself, referred to Edward Lee, Archbishop of York, as a great beast, and so far humbled himself to the king as to give his Majesty a little opportunity of triumph In December, 1526, appeared in Latin King Henry's answer to Luther, printed with Luther's letter and an address to the pious reader At the beginning of 1527 there was published also, in English, "A Copy of the Letters wherein the most Redoubted and Mighty Prince our Soverayne Lorde Kynge Henry the Eight, Kynge of Englande and of France, Defensor of the Faith, and Lorde of Ireland, made Answer unto a certayne Letter of Martyn Luther," &c This had a special preface, in which it was said that Luther "fell into device with one or two lewd persons born in this our realm for the translating of the

Luther and Henry VIII

New Testament into English, as well with many corruptions of that holy text, as certain prefaces and pestilent glosses in the margins, for the advancement and setting forth of his abominable heresies, intending to abuse the good minds and devotion that you our dearly-beloved people bear toward the Holy Scripture, and to infect you with the deadly corruption and contagious odour of his pestilent errors In the avoiding whereof we, of our especial tender zeal towards you, have, with the deliberate advice of the most reverend father in God, Thomas Lord Cardinal, Legate *de Latere*, of the see apostolic of York Primate, and our Chancellor of this realm, and other reverend fathers of the spirituality, determined the said and untrue translations to be burned, with further sharp correction and punishment against the keepers and readers of the same, reckoning of your wisdoms very sure that ye will well and thankfully perceive our tender and loving mind toward you therein, and that ye will never be so greedy upon any sweet wine, be the grape never so pleasant, that ye will desire to taste it, being well advertised that your enemy before hath poisoned it" In this year 1527, Henry VIII, with his eye upon Ann Boleyn, began questioning the lawfulness of his marriage to Katherine of Aragon

Tyndal doubtless referred to Luther's version of the New Testament into German while he was making his own from the Greek More than half of Luther's short preface to his New Testament is incorporated in the prologue to the New Testament of Tyndal, who used also, with a few additions, Luther's marginal references, simply translated some of his glosses, gave the sense of others, and added many of his own It was asserted, also, by the English bishops that there were 3,000 errors in Tyndal's translation Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, bought up all copies that he could find

In March, 1528, Sir Thomas More was licensed by his

old friend Tunstal to have and read Lutheran books in order that he might confute them, "forasmuch as you, dearly-beloved brother, can play the Demosthenes both in this our English tongue and also in the Latin" More had been made Treasurer of the Exchequer in 1520, had become Sir Thomas in 1521, a month after his appointment as Master of the Requests In 1523 he was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, when a Parliament was summoned to raise money for a war with France, and he had then offended Wolsey by opposing an oppressive subsidy Henry VIII delighted in his society, and would pay him unceremonious visits in the house at Chelsea to which he had removed from Bucklersbury "Great honour," said one of his family, "was this to him" "Yes," answered More, "the king is my very good master, but if my head would win his Majesty a castle in France, it would not fail to be struck off my shoulders" In 1527 Tunstal and More were joined with Wolsey in an embassy to France On their return Wolsey opened a court for the remedy of abusions in the Church One of the first called before it, in November, 1527, was Thomas Bilney, whom Tunstal persuaded at that time to recant, and he was released after carrying a fagot in procession, and standing bareheaded before a preacher at Paul's Cross In 1528 the king made More Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster This was his position, and he was forty-eight years old, when he was licensed by Tunstal to read Lutheran books, that he might use his skill in argument against them He produced in the same year, and published in 1529, a "Dialogue" in four books, being in form of the report to a friend of dialogue between himself and a confidential messenger whom the friend had sent to question More upon religious controversies of the day There was frequent recurrence, therefore, of the words, "Quoth he," and "Quoth I," which caused the book to be known commonly by the name of "*Quod*

More and Tyndal

he and Quod I" The discussion was of image-worship, prayer to saints, going on pilgrimages, and other topics to be met with argument against the views of Luther and Tyndal The new English translation of the Testament More would take as a New Testament only in the sense of its being Tyndal's or Luther's More illustrated his complaint against the text by citing Tyndal's substitution of the words congregation, elder, favour, knowledge, repentance, for church, priest, grace, confession, and penance In this Dialogue More maintained that the English ought to have the Bible in their mother tongue, and said that "to keep the whole commodity from any whole people because of harm that by their own folly and fault may come to some part, were as though a lewd" (unlearned) "surgeon would cut off the leg by the knee to keep the toe from the gout, or cut off a man's head by the shoulders to keep him from the toothache" A trustworthy version might, he thought, be used prudently for distribution by the clergy More published also, in 1529, a 'Supplication of Souls," in reply to a short invective called "The Supplication of Beggars," written by Simon Fishe

Simon Fishe

Simon Fishe entered Gray's Inn from Oxford in 1525, and was active, among other young men, in attack upon the wealth and pride of prelates, and of Wolsey as the typical example They produced an interlude, written by Mater Roo—a Cambridge man—in which Wolsey was satirised Fishe, having acted a part in it, escaped from the wrath that might have followed by joining Tyndal and Roy abroad When he came back to London he lived in a house by the Whitefriars, and was an agent for the diffusion of Tyndal's New Testament Confession was made by a purchaser of now five, now ten, now twenty or thirty of these prohibited books, and Fishe—again in danger—about the end of 1527 returned to the Low Countries, where he wrote "The Supplication of the Beggars,"

about which more will be said presently when we speak also of John Frith, whose views on the Sacrament of the Altar were argued against by Sir Thomas More

From 1529 until 1533, More was appealing to the people through the press with tracts designed to meet and confute those of Tyndal and others Tyndal produced "An Answer unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue," written in 1530, and published in the spring of 1531 In 1532 appeared More's "Confutation" of Tyndal's answer The spirit of Tyndal's argument for the impugned parts of his translation was expressed in his saying that the clergy had led men to "understand by the word church nothing but the shaven flock of them that shore the whole world," but that it "hath yet, or should have, another signification, little known among the common people nowadays That is, to wit, it signifieth a congregation, a multitude or a company gathered together in one, of all degrees of people" In short, he avoided words to which a special and, as he thought, false meaning had become attached, and thus incurred strong condemnation as a partisan translator from those who believed such special meanings to be true More, in his rejoinder, and elsewhere in his controversial writing of these years, was at times false to the principles laid down in his "Utopia" and illustrated by the main course of his life He was not himself a persecutor, but he was defending his own Church at a time when it believed that thousands might be saved from everlasting fire by terror of the burning of a few He flinched from the practical enforcement of that doctrine, when he himself wielded the terrors of the law But abroad and at home it was enforced by governments, when, in reply to Tyndal's sentence, "If our shepherds had been as willing to feed as to shear, we had needed no such dispicience, nor they to have burnt so many as they have," More admitted that there would have been less heresy if there had been more

More and Tyndal

dılıgence ın preachıng He then saıd, "Sure ıf the prelates had taken as good heed ın tıme as they should have done, there should peradventure at length fewer have been burned thereby But there should have been more burned by a great many than there have been wıthın thıs seven year last past, the lack whereof, I fear me, wıll make more burned wıthın thıs seven year next comıng than else should have needed to have been burned ın seven score" But we must go back now a few years to take up the thread of the personal story of Sır Thomas More

Thomas More

After the publıcatıon of "Utopıa"—first prınted by Thıerry Martıns at Louvaın ın December, 1516—More was joıned, on the 16th of August, 1617, ın a commıssıon to Calaıs, ın the ınterests of London merchants, upon dısputes arısıng out of ıncıdents ın tıme of war In the same year Sır John More, hıs father, at the age of sıxty-five, was made a judge ın the Court of Common Pleas, to be transferred, probably ın Aprıl, 1520, to the Kıng's Bench. It was whıle at Calaıs that Thomas More receıved a present from hıs frıends Erasmus and Peter Gıles of theır portraıts by Quentın Matsys, on two panels joıned together as a dıptych * Whıle remaınıng undersherıff untıl the 23rd of July, 1519, More was drawn, early ın 1518, ınto the servıce of the kıng, and made before the end of July ın that year a Prıvy Councıllor, wıth the offices presently added of the Kıng's Secretary—wıth Dr Pace for hıs colleague—and Master of Requests In June, 1520, More went wıth the kıng to Calaıs, and was among those present on the Fıeld of the Cloth of Gold He was knıghted, and made Under-Treasurer, ın 1521 In July of that year he was at Calaıs agaın, joıned, on behalf of the Londoners, to a commıssıon for the settlement of merchants'

* They have sınce been separated The portraıt of Erasmus, or a copy of ıt, ıs now at Hampton Court, and that of Peter Gıles at Nostel Prıory, near Wakefield

disputes. In April, 1523, he was made Speaker of the House of Commons, and vexed Wolsey by his conscientious interpretation and discharge of the duties of his office Wolsey, in fact, would have got him out of the way by finding him some work in Spain, but More had the king's friendship, and Wolsey too became his friend again In July, 1525, Sir Thomas More, on the death of Sir Richard Wingfield, was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster In 1527 he went with Wolsey on an embassy to France, to treat of peace at Amiens In July, 1529, More was joined with his old friend Tunstal, who had become Bishop of London, in an embassy to Cambray, to meet ambassadors of the Emperor, the Pope, and the King of France They were sent with instructions to promote the interests of the Pope and the Holy See More joined in signature to the Treaty of Cambray on the 8th of August, 1529 On the 25th of October, 1529, Sir Thomas More was appointed by the king to succeed Wolsey as Lord High Chancellor He remained in that office until the 16th of May, 1532—that is to say, for a period of two years and not quite seven months

More was a man neither tall nor short, well made, except that his right shoulder was higher than his left, and for that reason, or from carelessness of dress, he usually wore his gown awry He had dark-brown hair, grey-blue eyes, a pale face faintly tinged with pink, a happy expression, and a mouth that seemed ready to break into laughter He preferred water to wine, plain food to luxuries, and simple dress to pomps and fashions He reckoned among duties of life hours of kindly intercourse with wife, children, and servants of his house, as well as with his friends, to whom he was most faithful, but he dropped them quietly and gradually when he found they were ill-chosen He made time for his own studies by stealing from the night, and began the work of the day with devout worship of God Once, when

urgently and repeatedly called from a morning mass to the king's presence, he would not leave until the mass was ended His higher allegiance was to the King of Kings From his first home in Bucklersbury, More had removed to Crosby Place, in Bishopsgate Street Without, and in 1523 he bought a piece of land in Chelsea on which he made for himself a large garden stretching to the Thames, and built in it a house sufficient for his family Thenceforth that was his home

As an officer of state, he was obliged to go abroad with more attendants than were necessary These servants he kept from idleness by allotting to each man a piece of the garden to be worked on Apart from the house he built his chapel, with a book-room and a study—the New Building, in which he worked and worshipped Erasmus sent to More Hans Holbein, when Holbein needed a friend More befriended him, and to the artist it was labour of love to paint More in his home The picture was painted at the end of 1527 or early in 1528 The group contains Sir Thomas More, with his father, Sir John, also his wife, whom he had married when she was Alice Middleton, a widow, seven years older than himself, and with a daughter by a former marriage She had no more children, and answered to his wish in being a kind mother to the four children left him by his first wife Jane She was a matter-of-fact woman, a little sharp of tongue, but his kindly playfulness and constant goodness made her life happy, and she learnt to play music, and otherwise to make herself as companionable as she was helpful in his house The group contained also the daughters and their husbands, who all lived together in the home at Chelsea Margaret, the eldest—most like to her father in face and mind—had married William Roper when she was sixteen William Roper, after his marriage, turned Lutheran, and More argued with him in vain "Meg," he said at last to his daughter, "I have borne with thy husband

a long time, I have reasoned and argued with him in these points of religion, and still given to him my poor fatherly counsel, but I perceive none of all this able to call him home, and therefore, Meg, I will no longer dispute with him, but will clean give him over, and get me to God and pray for him" Roper returned to the faith in which his wife had remained constant The picture also contained More's second daughter Elizabeth, aged twenty-one She had married the son and heir to Sir John Daunsey The picture also contained More's third daughter, Cecily, aged twenty, who was married to Mr Giles Heron, son of Sir John Heron of Hackney More's son John, aged nineteen, was married also, and Holbein included in the picture young John More's wife, who had been Anne Cresacre, married at fifteen There is another young wife in the group More had received into his family, and treated as a daughter, an orphan relative, Margaret Gigs, who married another member of the household, John Clements More had taken him from St Paul's School, made friendly use of him while helping to advance his education till he became a man of repute and Professor of Greek at Cambridge Room was found also in the picture for James Harris, a faithful servant, and for Henry Pattison the domestic fool Mrs Clements, in her old age, used to delight in telling of More's goodness in his home, would tell that she sometimes misbehaved wilfully for the pleasure of bringing down on herself his kind rebuke She only twice in her life saw him angry He made good scholars of the women of his household, and said, if it were true that women are less capable than men, that only made it necessary to take more pains with their education in order to overcome such a defect in nature Most carefully he sought to keep the lives of all about him pure and true That his own life was so, none have ever doubted

But then, it has been asked, why was he, as Lord

Chancellor, a cruel persecutor of the Lutherans? The charge of cruelty rests upon accusations that began with calumnies to which, even at this day, public men are exposed when they are strong on either side in a great controversy that has stirred the passions of the people John Foxe was a good man, though he did not need much evidence to convict a Roman Catholic of any wrong-doing with which he might be charged Bias directed judgment Thirty years after More's death, Foxe charged him with the examination and torture of John Tewkesbury, who had retracted several months before More was Chancellor, with the death of John Frith, which was a year after More had resigned his office, he told also another story that, like the tale of Tewkesbury, worked up the old popular fable about a whipping tree in More's garden at Chelsea, called Jesus' Tree, or the Tree of Truth More in his lifetime explicitly contradicted accusations of this kind No man, while More was Chancellor, was put to death by him for heresy Among the passionate accusations, blindly hurled from one side to the other in More's time, that story of the Tree of Truth was current More contradicted it when it was most easy, if he did not speak truth, to confute him His whippings, he said, had been only two—one of a child in service of his house who sought to corrupt another child, and one a public whipping of a lunatic who brawled in churches, and was thereby restrained from continuance in that form of disorder In More's time the whip was thought to be remedial in lunacy, and society had yet to learn the proper care of the insane Of this lunatic More wrote in his "Apologia," "God be thanked, I hear none harm of him now," and added that "of all that ever came in my hand for heresy, as help me God, saving (as I said) the sure keeping of them, had never any of them any stripe or stroke given them, so much as a fillip on the forehead" More went on to reply as decisively to a particular slander that shows the

source of such inventions as Foxe was ready to accept for truth

Against Luther and his opinions More fought with all his might in public controversy Luther's violence offended him The violence to which it stirred large numbers of ignorant peasantry appeared to More to threaten a loosening of the bonds of peace in States as well as in the Church The part taken by the Anabaptists in the Peasants' War, that was ended in June, 1525, after the loss of a hundred thousand lives, seemed to him ominous of ills to come by the diffusion of Luther's heresy The boldness of Luther's attack upon the Primacy of the Pope seemed to More dangerous to the continuance of a United Christian Church Luther's attack on faith in the Seven Sacraments seemed to More's simple piety attack upon the faith of Christendom More did indeed think that it would have been well if a few sentences of death had stayed the tumult of change before nations were involved in it, but it is very doubtful whether he could have brought himself, in that or any case, by his own choice and will to pronounce those sentences We know that he never did pronounce them, that he never applied torture, that he took much pains to persuade men, by word of mouth, into retractation of what he took to be an error most dangerous to the common weal, and that he set himself to the true work of intellectual battle with the best arms he could bring into the field He produced a thousand pages or more of controversial writing in measuring his powers of wit and reason against those of the stoutest combatants upon the other side He defended outworks of the fortress of Authority, fought, perhaps, on the weaker side, but he did seek to let Truth and Error grapple

More and Luther

Simon Fishe's "Supplicacyon for the Beggars" complained that the lepers, the maimed, and the blind lose alms that should sustain them because the country is impoverished

by "Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Deacons, Archdeacons, Suffragans, Priests, Monks, Canons, Friars, Pardoners, and Summoners, who are wolves in herds' clothing devouring the flock They possess a third of the land, besides their tenth of all the corn, meadow, pasture, grass, wool, colts, calves, lambs, pigs, geese, and chickens Over and besides, the tenth part of every servant's wages, the tenth part of the wool, milk, honey, wax, cheese, and butter Yea, and they look so narrowly to their profits that the poor wives must be countable with them for every tenth egg, or else she getteth not her rights at Easter, shall be taken as an heretic Hereto they have their four offering days What money pull they in by men's offerings to their pilgrimages, and at their first masses!"

Fishe's "Supplycacyon for the Beggars."

More and more ways of drawing from the people money that might otherwise help the poor, Simon Fishe recites, until he finds that an idle clergy has possession of half the substance of the realm And then he asks, What do they with the wealth thus raised? It is spent on mischief to the state, corruption of women, defiance of the law These men make heretics of those who cannot pay, and deny the New Testament to the people because they would find in it that Christ paid tribute to Cæsar The king's power is weak because priests have been his Chancellors This was said in the time of Wolsey The appointment of lay Chancellors was a departure taken when Sir Thomas More was made Wolsey's successor There will be an end of beggary, said Simon Fishe, the land shall be rich and the Gospel preached, if you declare the hypocrisy of these false priests, send out the begging friars to get their living in the world, and whip them at the cart's tail if they will not work It is said that Henry VIII was not displeased with this little book when it was shown to him, but he observed upon it, "If a

man should pull down an old stone wall and begin at the lower part, the upper part thereof might chance to fall upon his head"

Sir Thomas More replied to the book with a "Supplication of Souls" Fishe's evil genius had come with the devil to bring news of his book to the souls in Purgatory, whom More imagines speaking their mind on its argument More, of course, in his reasonings defended no corruption, nor did he at any time deny that evil was done by many who should be servants of God But he argued that if the Church system was to be destroyed because many Popes and priests were corrupt, States also might be destroyed because many kings and Ministers of State lived evil lives He wished to purify the Church without destruction of what he reverenced as its time-honoured discipline and doctrine But party strife has a bad language of its own Calm reasoning will not be weighed by many until many be wise More mixed his mirth and sense and pious feeling with more words of contempt for argument upon the other side than St Paul would have thought decent

Thomas More's "Supplication of Souls"

Luther replied to Henry VIII's "Defence of the Seven Sacraments" with especial virulence The king himself could not reply again, and More replied for him, but under the name of William Ross He took Luther's reply to pieces, and reviled again with energy,* pained, as he said, to speak foul words to pure ears, but he must do it, or, as he had earnestly desired, leave Luther's book untouched The answer was written to please the king, but More did not choose to put his name to it

Luther and More

Of the end of Simon Fishe we know only from More's

* For example, "Quis non rideat nebulonem miserrimum tam furiosas efflantem glorias, quasi sederet in Christi pectore, cum clausus jaceat in culo diaboli Inde crepat ac buccinat"

"Apology," that "he came into the Church again, and forswore and forsook all the whole hill of those heresies out of which the fountain of that same good zeal sprang," and that he died of the plague in 1531 His wife took for her second husband James Bainham, a lawyer of the Middle Temple, who was burnt in Smithfield for a heretic on the 30th of April, 1532, by sentence of the Bishop of London's Vicar-General

John Frith, born in 1503, went from Eton to King's College, Cambridge, and took at Cambridge the B A degree before proceeding to Oxford, where he was admitted to the same degree in December, 1525 Wolsey made Frith, for his abilities, a junior canon of his College—Cardinal College, afterwards Christ Church Frith helped Tyndal in his translation of the New Testament, shared his opinions, was imprisoned in a cellar of the college, and released by the desire of Wolsey on condition that he kept away from Oxford He was then abroad for about six years, married, and had children, still working with the Reformers and assisting Tyndal He wrote a book against Purgatory When he returned to England, having left wife and children abroad, he was set in the stocks at Reading as a rogue and vagabond, but released at intercession of the schoolmaster of the town He went on to London, and soon afterwards, when endeavouring to get back into Holland, he was arrested and imprisoned as a heretic In the Tower he set down his views upon the Eucharist, which were shown to Sir Thomas More, who published a reply to them On the 20th of June, 1533, Frith was brought before three bishops sitting at Saint Paul's, was condemned by the Bishop of London as a heretic, and burnt at Smithfield on the 4th of July, after writing continually in his prison, although bent down by a load of chains Among his many writings was a reply to Sir Thomas More's "Supplication of Souls" Another of

John Frith

his writings was published in the year of his martyrdom as "A Boke made by John Fryth, prysoner in the Tower of London, answerynge to M More's Letter which he wrote agaynst the fyrst lytle Treatyse that John Ffryth made concernynge the Sacramente of the Body and Bloode of Christ" This was printed by Conrad Willems, at Munster Another of his books, printed by John Day in 1533, was "A Myrroure or Lookynge Glass wherein you may beholde the Sacramente of Baptisme described" It was answered by More after Frith's death

CHAPTER IX

SIR DAVID LINDSAY AND OTHER SCOTTISH WRITERS

WE look northward again Before the voice of Dunbar was silent, Lindsay took up the strain and was free Scotland, canny, humorous, sincere, with a direct earnestness that brings out notes of the deeper poetry of life, the voice for Scotland of that spirit of reformation which had grown up, as we have seen, among true men of all theological creeds during the fifteenth century, and had been strengthened by all influences of the time Whatever makes a man most man brings out the voice that reaches far beyond the present The foundations of Scottish literature were laid by our Edward I, when he forced on the Scotch their war of independence, and so gave to their countrymen a Wallace and a Bruce—their countrymen and ours, the Lowland Scots, being, in fact, most English of the English Their country, an old place of refuge for the patriotic fugitives from Norman rule, was little oppressed with castles of early Norman build The Norman castles of which ruins are now to be found in Scotland show their later date almost invariably by the more ornamented style of Edward I

North of the Tweed

David Lindsay, born about 1490, was the eldest of five sons His father, also a David, was son to the second son of a Lord Lindsay of Byres, and inherited a smaller estate in Haddingtonshire, which he left when he bought house and land known as the Mount, upon Mount Hill, five or six miles to the north-west

David Lindsay

of Cupar, county town of Fife It was after the marriage of the Thistle and the Rose that David Lindsay began his court life Prosperous Scotland was then busy in her dockyards, and King James IV achieved the construction of what passed as a monster vessel, the *Great Michael*, 240 feet long, its hull cannon-proof because ten feet thick and of solid oak In 1509 Henry VII died, and the new king of England promised to give more trouble to his neighbour Young David Lindsay was then leaving college He had been sent to school in Cupar, and had seen sometimes the Mysteries and Moralities there acted upon ground near the Castle Hill, which is still called the Play Field In 1505, the year of the birth of John Knox, Lindsay proceeded to the University of St Andrews, and while he was a student there, about seventeen years old, the death of his father gave him the Mount for inheritance

He stayed another two years at St Andrews, and was altogether four years in the University, under the rectorship of the Reverend David Spens There was in his time only one college at St Andrews, that of St Salvador St Leonard's was founded about three years after Lindsay left After study of books came, perhaps, study of men by travel, but Lindsay was soon in service at the Scottish court When, on the 12th of April, 1512, the prince who became James V was born, on the same day David Lindsay, aged about twenty-two, was one of those appointed to attend upon him

In the following year Henry VIII was going to war with France, and France knew how to procure again the help of her old Scottish ally For love of freedom, because the kings of England sought to subdue Scotland, Scotland had become the natural ally of France Every venture made by England in war of ignoble ambition against France brought the Scots over the border to enjoy the opportunity of England's weakness, and create diversion on behalf of their ally Until Henry VII 's time the policy of our kings maintained

Scotland in a constant league with France, so close that French words, clipped and nationalised, became familiar on Scottish lips, and even the national "great chieftain of the pudding race"—notwithstanding all scornful comparison of it with French *ragoûts*—the haggis, was given to Scotland by the French allies Its name is the French *hachis* Following the old usage, in 1513, King James IV. resolved, in aid of France, to invade England Having come, on his way to Linlithgow, with Lindsay in attendance on him, he was there sadly praying for success in his adventure, when a man in a blue gown, bare-headed, and apparently fifty years old, came rapidly forward among the lords to the desk where the king was at his prayers There, without homage or salutation, he leaned on the desk and said, "Sir king, my mother has sent me to thee, desiring thee not to go where thou art purposed, which if thou do thou shalt not fare well in thy journey, nor none that is with thee Further, she forbade thee to mell nor use the counsel of women, which if thou do thou wilt be confounded and brought to shame" Even-song was then near done, the king paused as if to answer, but in the meantime, before the king's eyes, and in the presence of all, this man vanished away and could no more be seen "I heard," says Lindsay of Pitscotie, who tells the tale—a tale which Buchanan records upon Sir David Lindsay's personal testimony—"I heard Sir David Lindsay, lion herald, and John Inglis, the marshal, who were at that time young men and special servants to the king's grace, thought to have taken this man but they could not, that they might have speired further tidings at him, but they could not touch him" In August, 1513, King James, at the head of an army, entered England, on the 9th of September he was one of the ten thousand dead Scots upon whom the night fell over Flodden Field

Lindsay's young prince, aged one, became James V—

Stuart the seventh The child's mother, Henry VIII's sister, aged but twenty-four, was made Regent, and, being a Tudor, lost no time in marrying again She gave birth to a posthumous child in the following April, and four months after that, since she might not leave Scotland, became wife to the handsome young Archibald, Earl of Angus, grandson to the Earl of Angus known as "Bell the Cat," and nephew to Gavin Douglas, the poet At a later date Lindsay reminds King James of State service rendered to him at the beginning of his reign—

> "How as ane chapman beris his pack
> I bure thy grace upon my back,
> And sumtymes stridlingis on my nek,
> Dansand with mony a bend and bek,
> The first sillabis that thou did mute
> Was 'Pa—Da—Lyn' Upon the lute
> Then playit I twenty springis perqueir (*par cœur*)
> Quhilk was great plesour for to heir
> Fra play thou leit me never rest,
> But 'Gynkertoun' thou luffit ay best,
> And ay, quhen thow come fra the scuel
> Then I behaffit to play the fule"

Scotland after Flodden

In 1515 Francis I came to the throne of France, ratified peace with England (his predecessor, Louis XII, had married a sister of Henry VIII), and, with little consultation, included Scotland in the treaty, on condition of her good behaviour This, after Flodden, piqued the Scots, but they accepted the apologies of France In May, 1515, the Duke of Albany, son to a younger brother of James III, came, with a fleet of escort and a small court of gay French companions, to be Regent of Scotland He came from a life of luxury, had been Lord High Admiral of France, and had been bred to French despotic ideas of the relation between ruler and people The Scot throve often in France, but the Frenchman could not so well make himself at home in Scotland The new

regency proposed to take the royal children from the queen The queen showed them defiantly to the commissioners from behind the portcullis of Edinburgh Castle, and took them to Stirling But a besieging force obliged her to give up the king and his infant brother Alexander to the custody of Parliament In the next year, 1516, feud of Douglases or Anguses against Hamiltons, and other contests, filled the land with slaughter The regent tried main force, and could not manage the people in that way He sent to France for men, and thereby almost raised an insurrection Angus was overmastered and despatched to France, where he was kept close The queen escaped to England, where she bore a daughter Her husband, escaping from France, joined her, and became an instrument wherewith Henry VIII could vex the Scots Upon plea of negotiation necessary for protection against England, the Duke of Albany returned to France, when he had been little more than a year in Scotland The Estates gave him but four months' leave of absence He left Frenchmen in charge of Dumbarton, Dunbar, and Inchgarvie, and a trusted French favourite, La Bastie, acting as warden of the marches There La Bastie was killed next year The Scots made great parade of a search for the murderers, without meaning to catch them Yet the alliance with France had just been renewed The regent overstayed his time, and was reminded of the fact He was wanted at home The party of Angus—that is to say, the Douglases—battled again for predominance, and, with the help of fighting borderers, almost raised a civil war During these days of confusion James V was a child, and David Lindsay faithful in attendance on him

In April, 1520, Arran and many of the western nobility met at Edinburgh, in the house of Bishop James (not David) Beaton, to plan the seizure of the Earl of Angus Angus, informed of this, asked his uncle, Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, to calm the resentment of his enemies

The bishop met James Beaton in the church of the Black Friars, and urged him to be peacemaker Beaton protested that he knew of no design to break the peace, and striking his breast with too much animation, to enforce his denial on his conscience, the blow rang on a coat of mail under the sacred vestments "My lord," said Gavin Douglas, "I perceive your conscience is not good, I hear it clattering" The word "clattering" had a double sense, for in Scottish dialect it meant also "telling tales" There was presently a battle in the street, after which seventy two lay dead, and Bishop James Beaton, who had taken refuge behind the altar, owed his life to the intervention of Douglas Angus then held Edinburgh by an armed force But his Tudor wife had turned against him, was tired of him, and laboured to bring Albany back In November, 1521, after more than five years' absence, Albany returned The orders of the Estates had become threatening, for they had declared that if he was not in Scotland by midsummer, Scotland would declare him infamous, deprive him of office, break with France, make peace with England, and even join Henry VIII against France When Albany came back, the queen's warm welcome was imputed to dishonest motives He was essentially a Frenchman, disliked by the people The death of the infant prince, Alexander, was ascribed to him Some asked, Was the king safe? Would Albany kill him to rule in his place, or carry him to France and make another Frenchman of him? Scotland had no pleasure in the unnatural alliance forced upon her by the English crown, dislike for it was becoming active But then Henry VIII threatened the Scots, and commanded them to turn out Albany, so they were driven to stand by him Henry had broken with France, he had joined Spain and the Pope. Scotland was not to be driven, and thus King Henry's threat checked the rise of an English party In the following year, 1522, an army of 80,000, raised in

Scotland, moved towards the border, causing fear in England But it did nothing The insulting threat was withdrawn, and the Scottish leaders were now for a policy of strong defence, not of invasion Albany went, by his own desire, to France, and thither also went his rival Angus Still there was border war with England In September, 1523, Albany returned from France with 3 000 footmen and 500 men-at-arms, in fifty vessels He gathered much of the disbanded army It was ready to serve Scotland by acting as a check on England's border war, but it would not again play into the hands of France by invading England Nothing was done, and Albany lost credit still In May of the next year, 1524, Albany and nearly all the Frenchmen went to France for good, leaving Scotland headless and distracted Wolsey then wrote to the queen that Henry VIII meant only love to his nephew The desire was to win Scotland from France There was even talk of an eventual union of crowns, by marriage of James V with the Princess Mary of England Queen Margaret, the Rose of Dunbar's poem, having shifted her love, in hate of Angus denounced war on him if he should enter Scotland

Young James the Fifth

James V was then in his thirteenth year, and it seemed that the best way to check the French party and keep out Albany, was "the erection" of the boy as king by the Estates The king himself rebelled at confinement A gentleman who opposed him he struck through the arm with his dagger, and he raised his dagger to a porter who restrained his going forth Then it was settled that the Earl of Cassilis and three others should ride with the king, and that he might ride with them where he would, so that they brought him at night into Stirling Castle, but they never ventured out more than a mile from Stirling A letter of liberal promise was conveyed from Henry VIII to his nephew, and suddenly, one day in August, 1524, the king was brought from Stirling to

Edinburgh, where he received sceptre, crown, and sword of honour in the old Tolbooth Many leaders in the Estates signed a bond to stand by "the erection," and this was the Revolution of 1524 Wolsey and Henry VIII highly approved of the whole proceeding

The young king was flattered into love of his uncle, and had no goodwill to France Meanwhile emissaries of France were active In the following year, 1525, the capture of Francis I, at Pavia, excited generous sympathy of Scotland for the old ally The English emissaries were unpopular, and were abused by women in the street In 1526 the Earl of Angus came to Scotland, humbling himself to his queen The boy king, told that he might choose his own guardians, took Angus for one of three Each was to be guardian for three months at a time Angus, at the end of his first three months, would not give up his office, but kept the king in merciless restraint Forcible attempts were made in vain for his release Angus said, "If his enemies got hold of him by one side, his friends would keep him by the other, so that he should be torn in twain"

In May, 1528, King James escaped to Stirling, he was then seventeen years old, and thenceforth his own master When he ceased to hold the person of the king, Angus was ruined In the same year Queen Margaret succeeded in obtaining her divorce from him, and married the new man of her choice, young Harry Stewart, son of Lord Evandale King James applied himself vindictively to the punishment of Angus His estates were forfeited, and he was driven to England, where Henry VIII received him kindly, but his Majesty had then no time for Scotch affairs

While Angus and the English party held possession of the king, he had been separated from the patriotic David Lindsay, although Lindsay's payment as one of the king's personal attendants was not stopped When King James broke bounds and became

Lindsay and James V

independent, Lindsay again was by his side, and thenceforth stood by him always as a faithful counsellor He sought incessantly to use his genius as a poet and his influence as a friend, for the benefit alike of James V and of Scotland Never had king a poet friend who preached to him more indefatigably First, there was "Lindsay's Dream," the first of his longer works, written apparently in 1528, the first year of the king's independent rule It contains 1,134 lines, and is throughout in Chaucer's stanza

Lindsay's Dream

In a prefatory epistle to the king, he reminded his master how

> "Quhen thou wes young, I bure ye in myne arm,
> Full tenderlie, tyll thou begouth to gang,
> And in thy bed oft happit thee full warme ,"

how he had been his playfellow in childhood, and had told him in his youth "of antique stories and deeds martial," but now, he said, with the support of the King of Glory, he would tell a story altogether new He told, in a prologue of the usual fashion, how, after he had lain sleepless in bed, he rose and went out, on a January morning, to the seashore, there climbed into a little cave high in a rock, and sat with pen and paper, meaning rhyme But instead of rhyming, he wrapped himself well up, and after a wakeful night, was lulled to sleep by the sound of the waves, which he had been comparing to this false world's instability "Heir endis the proloug, and followis the dreme" A fair lady, Dame Remembrance, came into Lindsay's Dream, and took him with her first to Hell, where they saw popes, emperors, kings, conquerors, cardinals, archbishops, "proud and perverse prelates out of number," with many other churchmen They suffered, Remembrance said, for covetousness, lust, and ambition , also because they had not taught the ignorant, "provoking them to penance by preaching," and because they had not made equal distribution of the patrimony and rent of Holy Kirk, but misspent temporally all that they should have divided into three parts, one for the maintenance of the Church, one for themselves, one for the poor There also were captive kings and nobles who suffered for their pride or cruelty, or who had given up eternal bliss for the delights of earth From hell, Remembrance took the poet up, through earth, water, and the upper air, beyond the moon

and sun and planets, to the firmament "fixit full of sternes brycht," and to the ninth sphere, prime mover of the rest, although the planets have also a motion in their proper spheres from west to east, some swift, some slow,

> "Quhose motioun causés contynewallie,
> Rycht melodious harmonie and sound,
> And all throw mouying of those planetes round"

On they went, through the crystalline sphere, to the empyrean, where they saw the happiness of Heaven Returning thence against his will, the poet questioned his companion about the Earth, was told its shape, size, divisions, and sub divisions, then he asked about Paradise, and passed, with a significant transition, from Paradise to Scotland Scotland, at his request, was shown to him by Dame Remembrance, and when he saw that it was a fair country, he says, "I did propone ane lytill questioun

> "'Quhat is the cause our boundés ben so bair?'
> Quod I, 'or quhate does mufe our miserie,
> Or quareof does proceed our pouertie?'"

Scotland has natural wealth, and a people both ingenious and strong to endure Lindsay asked, therefore, to be told "the principal cause wherefore we are so poor" The answer to this question brought him to the purpose of his poem, as a warning to James V, now master of his realm Remembrance said, "The fault is not—I dare well take on hand—nother in to the peple nor the land The want is of justice, policy and peace" "Why then," asked Lindsay, "do we want justice and policy more than they are wanted by France, Italy, or England?" "Quod sche 'I fynd the falt in to the heid For they in whom does lie our whole relief, I find them root and ground of all our grief'" "The poverty of the nation comes," said Remembrance, "from the negligence and insolence of infatuate chiefs,

> "Hauand small ee unto the common weill,
> Bot to thare singulare proffect euerilk deill

As Lindsay and his guide thus talked, there came a lean and ragged man, with scrip on hip and pikestaff in his hand, as one who is leaving home This was the well-being of Scotland, John the Common Weal Few cared for him, he said, in Scotland, the spiritual estate never paid heed to his complaint, and among the laity there was nought

else but each man for himself, so John the Common Weal must leave the land "But when will you come back again?" asked Lindsay

"'That questioun, it sall be sone desydit,'
Quod he 'there sall na Scot have comfortying
Off me, tyll that I see the countre gydit
Be wysedome of ane gude auld prudent kyng,
Quhilk sall delyte him maist, above all thyng,
To put justice tyll executioun,
And on strang traitouris mak puneisioun
Als yit to the I say ane uther thyng
I se, rycht weill, that prouerbe is full trew
Wo to the realme that hes ouer young ane kyng'"

This text from Ecclesiastes x 16, "Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child," was often quoted by our English writers in the earlier part of the reign of Richard II The course of Scottish history now brought it home to Lindsay, and he did not refrain from uttering it, although it was to a young king of seventeen or eighteen that he told the dream of which this was the pith Remembrance seemed to the poet to have brought him back to the cave in which he slept, and, there, when a passing ship seemed to discharge all her cannon, he awoke and besought God to send grace to the king to rule his realm in unity and peace "Heir endis the Dreme and begynnis the Exhortatioun to the kyngis grace" "Sir," it begins, "since God of His preordinance hath granted thee to have the governance of His people and create thee a king, fail not to print in thy remembrance that He will not excuse thine ignorance if thou be reckless in thy governing, . . and since that thou must reap as thou hast sown, have all thy hope in God, thy Creator, and ask Him grace that thou may be His own" With Lindsay for unwearied counsellor, James V could not plead that he was uninformed as to his duties This poem ended in reminder of what paths were to be followed, and what shunned, with a warning of the evil end of those who had not condescended to good counsel "And, finally, remember thou mon dee . Quhar have they gone, thir papis and empriouris?" For some of them that question had been answered in the beginning of the poem The visions of hell and heaven were no purposeless opening to Lindsay's Dream of a king's duty to John the Common Weal

Lindsay's next poem was "The Complaint," also addressed to the king, and written, probably, in 1529, the year

of Skelton's death, soon after James escaped from thraldom. It is in 510 lines of octosyllabic rhyme, and professed to complain that, now the king was his own master, greedy men sought and had gifts from him, while his old friend "Da Lyn" was overlooked This may have been seriously meant, and the "Complaint" may be associated with the fact that in 1530 Lindsay, then about forty years old, was knighted and made Lion King of Arms, with lands and produce of lands assigned to secure payment of salary But in his poem named the "Complaint" Lindsay chiefly recalled with strong censure the history of the "erection" of the young king at the age of twelve by new rulers, "for commoun weill makand no cair" Lindsay dwelt on what he regarded as the wilful endeavour of those who then possessed him to corrupt and cheat him by base flatteries, with allurements to a self-indulgence that would make him weakly subject to their will The prelates who then ruled should have shamed to take the name of spiritual priests—

Lindsay's "Complaint"

> "For Esyas in to his wark
> Calles thame lyke doggis that can nocht bark,
> That callit ar preistis, and can nocht preche,
> Nor Christis law to the people teche.
> Geve for to preche bene thare professioun,
> Quhy sulde thay mell with court or sessioun,
> Except it war in spirituall thyngis?"

There was discord among great lords, till suddenly the king escaped—

> "Then rais ane reik, or ever I wyste,
> The quhilk gart all thare bandés bryste?
> Than they allone quhilk had the gyding,
> Thay could nocht keip thare feit frome slyding,
> Bot of thare lyffés they had sic dreid,
> That thay war faine tyll trott over Tweid"

John Uplánd was blithe, said Lindsay, to see order restored, but it had yet to be restored in the spiritualty The

king was admonished, therefore, to have an eye to the clergy, and make their lives better conform to their vocation, make them preach earnestly, and leave their vain traditions, which deceived the simple sheep for whom Christ shed His blood—

> "As superstitious pylgramagis
> Prayand to gravin ymagis,
> Expres agains the Lordis command."

Lindsay added a warning to the king of the fate of Jeroboam, and many more princes of Israel who assented to idolatry. Sir David Lindsay has been rightly called the poet of the Scottish Reformation, but the reformation sought by him in the most active years of his life was far more social than doctrinal. He had bitter cause to direct the king's attention to the pride of prelates who, in the year of the king's escape from the hands of Angus, first lighted a martyr fire in Scotland. It was rare in Scotland to hear any preaching, except from the Black and Grey Friars. George Crichton, who succeeded the scholar and poet, Gavin Douglas, as Bishop of Dunkeld, once thanked God that he knew neither the Old Testament nor the New, but only his breviary and his pontifical. For this he passed into a proverb with the people, who would say, "Ye are like the Bishop of Dunkeld, that knew neither the new law nor the old." But when Tyndal's New Testament was ready, traders from Leith, Dundee, and Montrose smuggled copies of it into Scotland; Lutheran opinions spread; and on the 29th of February, 1528, young Patrick Hamilton, not twenty-five years old, born of a good Scottish house, an abbot and a scholar, who had learnt to think in Paris and in Germany, was burnt for his religion at St. Andrews. In the midst of the flames he was called upon by some spectator, if he still held to his faith, to give a last sign of his constancy. At once he raised three fingers of his half-burnt hand, and held them raised until he died. Each fagot kindled a new fire of zeal

"Gif ye burn more," said a friend to one of the bishops, "let them be burnt in the cellars, for the reik of Mr Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it did blow upon" Calvin was then only nineteen years old, John Knox but three-and twenty. Lindsay's "Complaint" was followed, in 1530, by

"The Testament of the Papingo,"

or Popinjay, in 1,183 lines of Chaucer's stanza—a Scottish "Speke Parrot" In this poem, Lindsay, after a preface in praise of the poets who preceded him and Scottish poets of his time, feigned that he had the care of the king's parrot, and took her, one bright morning, into a garden There he set her on a branch, from which, in spite of warning, "Thou art right fat, and not well used to fly," the ambitious bird must needs climb to "the highest little tender twist" A gust of wind broke the branch under her, she fell, swooned, recovered voice, and blamed false Fortune, who had brought her to court to be ruined by ambition Then she desired, before her death, to send some counsel to the king "Heir followis the first Epystyll of the Papingo, direct to Kyng James the Fyft" The Parrot bequeathed to the king her true unfeigned heart, with much serious advice to him as to the performance of his duties, for

> "Be thou found sleuthfull or negligent,
> Or iniuste in thyne executioun,
> Thou sall nocht faill devine puneissioun"

Let him take note that he was the last king of five score and five—

> "Of quhose number fiftie and fyve bene slane,
> And, most parte, in thare awin mysgouernance"

The Parrot then dictated a second letter to her brethren of the court, against ambition and the misuse of prosperity, against court vices and court perils She recalled the unhappy ends of the last four Scottish kings from James I to James IV, the recent fall of Wolsey (in October, 1529), and the fall from power of the Earl of Angus (in 1528) To the courtiers, therefore, the Parrot said, there is no constant court but one, where Christ is King, whose time interminable and high triumphant glory is never gone "Heir followis the commonyng betvix the Papingo and hir holye execvtovris" The Magpie, a canon regular and prior, seeing the Parrot in pain, flew down, and asked for bequest

of her goods, the Raven came, too, as a black monk, and the Kite as a friar The Parrot expressed doubt as to the Kite's good conscience, though her raiment was religious like "I saw you," she said, "privily pick a chicken from a hen under a dyke" "I grant," said the Kite, "that hen was my good friend, but I only took the chicken for my tithe" Let Parrot confess, and the three religious birds would give her worthy funeral The Parrot longed for better friends to comfort her Then said the Kite, "We beseech you, ere you die, declare to us some causes reasonable why we ben holden so abominable" Thus Lindsay introduced into the poem, after his plain counsels to the king, an earnest setting forth of the corruption of the clergy This had come, he said, since Constantine in Rome divorced the Church from Poverty and married her to Property The children of that marriage were two daughters, Riches and Sensuality, who grew to power, and took whole rule of the spiritual state The clergy who paid court to these ladies soon forgot to study, pray, and preach, "they grew so subject to Dame Sensual, and thought but pain poor people for to teach" Were it not for the preaching of the begging friars, all faith would be extinct among the seculars When the Parrot had spoken at some length her mind upon such matters, she was shriven by the Kite, and, for want of better, made the Kite and Raven her executors, with the Magpie for overman She bequeathed her green dress to the owlet, her eyes to the bat, her beak to the pelican, "to help to pierce her tender heart in twain," her voice to the cuckoo and her eloquence to the goose, her bones to be burnt with those of the phœnix when she next renewed her life, her heart to the king, and the rest of her inside to her executors Then she commended her spirit to the Fairy Queen She died, and her executors fought over her remains

In 1531, Sir David Lindsay, of the Mount, joined officially as Lion King of Arms in an embassy to Charles V It was for the renewal of an old Treaty of Commerce between Scotland and the Netherlands In 1533 he was married to a Janet Douglas That was the year of the divorce of Henry VIII from Queen Katherine, and the year of the birth of the Princess, afterwards Queen, Elizabeth No children were born to David Lindsay In 1535, he was sent with Sir John Campbell to the Emperor to ask in marriage one of the princesses of his house for James V No marriage came of that negotiation.

In the same year, 1535, Lindsay is said to have produced in the Play Field at Cupar the most interesting of his works, the Morality Play called "A Satire of the Three Estates" There is no evidence that it was acted in 1535 That the king in the Morality is unmarried, and that James V married in 1537, is of no significance The play was described twenty days after its production at Linlithgow on the sixth of January, 1540, by Sir William Eure in a letter to Thomas Cromwell as evidence of a disposition towards reform in the King and the temporal lords of Scotland Had the piece then been five years old, would there not have been some note of the fact that it was a revival? We can only say that the acting at Epiphany, January 6th, 1540, was the earliest of which there is clear evidence Still there is no disproof of the tradition that the play was first acted at Cupar, Fife, in 1535 *

Minor Writings of Lindsay

In 1536, Lindsay wrote for the king two little pieces One was in "Answer to the King's Flyting," a playful warning answer to the king's attack on his strict preaching of continence The other was a "Complaint and Public Confession of the King's Old Hound, Bagsche," who petitioned on his own behalf the king's new favourite, Bawte, and the other dogs, his companions Bagsche had worried lambs and sheep, had attacked men savagely, every dog trembled when he was near, but at last, for his misuse of power, he was cast off, and barely escaped hanging Prosperous brother Bawte was admonished to take warning, and any strong man who

* David Laing in his three volume edition of "The Poetical Works of Sir David Lindsay, with Memoir, Notes, and Glossary, Edinburgh, 1879," says of the "Satire of the Three Estates," "I do not hesitate to assert that it was first exhibited at Linlithgow at the feast of Epiphany, on the 6th January, 1539-40 in the presence of the King, Queen, the ladies of the Court, the Bishops, and a great concourse of people of all ranks"

enjoyed court favour might take to himself the auld hound's warning against harsh use of his strength   Within the next three or four years Lindsay wrote also a satire on the long trains worn by ladies—"Ane Supplication against Side Taillis"—and "Kittie's Confession," an attack on the Confessional   Its doctrine is

> "To the great God omnipotent
> Confess thy sin and sore repent,
> And trust in Christ, as writis Paul,
> Who shed His blood to save thy saul,
> For none can thee absolve but He,
> Nor take away thy sin from thee"

In 1536 there was an embassy to France, attended by Sir David Lindsay as Lion King of Arms, to ask in marriage for James V a daughter of the house of Vendôme   That embassy was detained until the king himself arrived, when he chose for himself Magdalene of France, the consumptive eldest daughter of King Francis   She was married to James with much banqueting   On the 28th of May the king and queen arrived at Holyrood   On the 5th of July the bride was dead   Lindsay then wrote "The Deploration of Queen Magdalene," dwelling at large upon the pomps of her reception, and then passing in one stanza from the festal music to the music of her requiem   Within a year there was another bride to greet   On the 10th of June, 1538, Mary, widow of the Duke of Longueville and daughter of the Duke of Guise, landed at Fifeness   She was received with triumphs of Lindsay's devising   The genius of Scotland, in angelic form, delivered to her the keys of Scotland from a cloud above an arch   There were forty days of sport   Occasion came of this for Lindsay's short piece on "The Jousting between James Watson and John Barbour"

In the following year 1539, five men were burnt for heresy at Edinburgh, and David Beaton, who had taken part in their condemnation, and had in the preceding year

been made a cardinal, became, by the death of his uncle James, Archbishop of St Andrews In January, 1540, at the Feast of Epiphany, the king had Lindsay's "Satire of the Three Estates" acted at Linlithgow before himself and his queen, and the whole council, temporal and spiritual At the end of the piece James warned some of the bishops who were present that if they did not take heed, he would send some of the proudest of them to be dealt with by his uncle of England

Burnings for Heresy The Friendly Act of Reformation

The Satire of the Three Estates

was a public setting forth of the condition of the country, with distinct and practical suggestion of the reforms most needed Diligence first entered, as messenger from King Humanity, who was at hand The people might now be assured of Reformation The Three Estates of the nation were warned, in the king's name, to appear Spectators were invited to be patient for some hours, and exhorted

> "That na man tak our wordis intill disdaine,
> Althoct ye hear, be declamatioun,
> The common-weill richt pitiouslie complaine"

The King then entered, with a prayer that he might use his diadem to God's pleasure and his own great comfort But he was met and enticed by Wantonness and Placebo, and by Sandie Solace, fresh from a visit to fair Lady Sensuality, whose charms he praised Sensuality then entered, the king was attracted by her song, she was commended and brought to him Then came Good Counsel, after long banishment from Scotland, meaning to save King Humanity, who was thus overset in the beginning of his reign But next came the Vices—Flattery, Falsehood, and Deceit—resolved to seek the King, and to devise some subtle way of keeping him from the guidance of Good Counsel

> "Wee man turne our claithis and change our stiles,
> And disagyse vs, that na man ken vs
> Hes na man clarkis cleathing to len us?"

Flattery, disguised as a friar, took the name of Devotion, Deceit called himself Discretion, and Falsehood, Sapience, but being little

wise he presently forgot his name, and confounded it with "thin drink"—"sypeins," the leakage from a cask The disguised Vices met and beguiled the King When the greybeard Good Counsel entered they turned him out, and agreed together to make haste with their own profit while the King was young With aid from Wantonness and Solace, they had the King in attendance on a song from Sensuality when Dame Verity entered with a call for the spirit of judgment to him that sitteth in judgment

> "Let not the fault be left into the head
> Then sall the members reulit be at richt"

Especially "the Princes of the Priests" should let their light shine before men, who will pay more heed to their deeds than to their words, and follow them in both The Vices spying Verity, resolved together that she must not come to the King's presence They accused her to the Spiritual Lords

> "O reverent fatheris of the Spirituall Stait,
> Wee counsall yow, be wise and vigilant
> Dame Veritie has lychtit, now of lait,
> And in hir hand beirand the New Testament"

An Abbot advised that she be held prisoner till the third day of the Parliament, and then accused of heresy , a parson advised, now that the King was guided by Dame Sensuality,

> "To tak your time, I hauld it best for me,
> And go destroy all thir Lutherians,
> In speciall, yon ladie Veritie"

The Spiritual Lords then sent the Parson, with Flattery as the Friars to Dame Verity The Parson asked what right she had to preach, and said

> "I dreid, without ye get ane remissioun,
> And, syne, renunce your new opiniones,
> The spritual stait sall put yow to perditioun
> And in the fyre will burne yow, flesche and bones"

Verity would not recant, and told her inquisitors that if the king knew her they would all be defamed for their traditions Then suddenly cried Flattery, the Friar

> "Quhat buik is that, harlot, into thy hand?
> Out! walloway! this is the New Test'ment,
> In Englisch toung, and printit in England!
> Herisie! herisie! fire! fire! incontinent"

If this Morality was acted at Cupar in 1535, it was the year before the martyrdom of Tyndal In 1534 the Convocation of the English clergy had asked the king for an authorised translation of the Scriptures into English, and in 1535 Coverdale's translation was printed and licensed, though its introduction was delayed till 1536, which was the year also of the appearance of the first copies printed in England of Tyndal's New Testament The outcry of Falsehood belongs rather to a performance in January, 1540, than to a date so early as 1535, but it may, of course, have been an addition to the first text

So Verity was haled to the stocks, saying

> "Howbeit ye put ane thousand to torment,
> Ten hundreth thowsand sall rise into thair place,"

and praying to God for some reasonable reformation Chastity entered next, and fared no better than Truth Neither Estates nor people would receive her, and after some jest by a tailor's wife and a shoemaker's wife, both Verity and Chastity were put in the stocks Then entered a varlet to announce the coming of Divine Correction The Vices resolved upon flight, but first quarrelled over the stealing of the King's box, which Deceit made off with Divine Correction came resolved, with help of the Three Estates, to make Iniquity his thrall Good Counsel welcomed him Verity and Chastity were released from the stocks, and with these three in his company, Correction came near to the sleeping King They drove from him Dame Sensuality, who went to the spiritual lords, and was welcomed by them as their day's darling The King then received his fit companions and guides, humbly embraced Correction, and having conditionally pardoned Solace and Placebo, so long as they confined themselves to innocent amusements, he proclaimed that there should be a Parliament of all the Three Estates for the redress of wrongs

Here ended the first part of the satire The audience ate and drank, and while the actors were gone from their seats there was an Interlude Pauper, the poor man, came into the field, and, in spite of Diligence, who played prologue, climbed into the chair of the player King After sundry antics, he told that he was from Lothian, and was going to St Andrews to seek law He had kept his old father and mother by his labour, and then had a mare and three cows. When

his father and mother died, the landlord took the mare for heriot Heriot was the fine of a beast of any kind that the tenant died possessed of, which became due, after the tenant's death, to his superior The vicar had taken from the poor man the best cow when his father died, the next best when his mother died, and then, when his wife Meg had mourned herself to death, the vicar got the third cow, while, by like custom, their umest clayis—outer clothes—went to the clerk When there was nothing left, the poor man and his bairns must needs go beg "But," asked Diligence, "how did the parson, was not he thy good friend?" "He," said the poor man, "cursed me for my tithes, and still denies me sacrament at Easter" An English groat was all that he had left, and that was for a man of law Pauper could not be made to understand that there was no law for him, and that his cows had gone, if not by law, yet by sufficient and good custom, to the vicar—

> "Ane consuetude against the Common Weill
> Sould be na law, I think, be sweit Sanct Geill!"

Not being allowed to ask unwelcome questions about the prelates, Pauper lay down in the field Presently there came by him a Pardoner, crying up relics, and abusing the New Testament that spoilt his trade There followed some rough jesting at the Pardoner's expense, and then the poor man woke from dreaming of his cows, blessed him self, and prayed St Bride to send his kye again Seeing the Pardoner, he looked to him for help The Pardoner found that he had a groat, took it, and gave a thousand years of pardon for it The poor man was not satisfied unless he saw what he got for his money, and the interlude closed with a wrestle between the Pardoner and the poor man, in the course of which the bag of relics was thrown into the stream that ran across the Play Field

Diligence then opened the second part of the Morality by proclaiming the arrival of the Three Estates, who marched from the Pavilion, walking backwards, led by their Vices The Three Estates of the Scottish Parliament were the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Burgesses, or representatives of cities and boroughs, who had been added as a third estate in the days of Robert Bruce They greeted the King, explained that it was usual with them to walk backwards, took their seats, and were told by the King that it was his will to reform all abuses Every oppressed man was summoned by Correction to give in his bill Then entered, as complainant, John the Common Weal of fair Scotland, ragged, lame, and sad He was sad, he said, because the Three Estates walked backwards, led by their several Vices—Spirituality by

Sensuality and Covetousness, Temporality by Public Oppression, and the Burgesses by Falsehood and Deceit

> "Quhat mervell thocht the thiee estaits backwart gang,
> Quhen sic an vyle cumpanie dwels them amang,
> Quhilk has ieulit this rout monie deir dayis,
> Quhilk gars John the Common Weil want his warme clais!"

The Vices were presently put in the Stocks, Sensuality and Covetousness were banished, to the great grief of the Spiritual Lords, Good Counsel was seated in honour to advise the Parliament, while John the Common Weal, and Pauper the poor man, were set to keep the door

Good Counsel then began the argument of Reformation, with note of the sufferings of the oppressed poor John Common Weal complained of treacherous border thieves, and held that the chiefs who harboured them ought to be hanged He complained of idlers, strong beggars, fiddlers, pipers, and pardoners, of discords raised by the great fat friars, who laboured not and were well fed He complained of judgment without mercy upon petty thieves, while a cruel tyrant who wronged all the world—a common, public, plain oppressor—could by bribery compound with law Correction bade the Temporal Lords put down oppression, bade the Burgesses avoid deceit, and bade the Spiritual Lords rent land to men who laboured for their bread The Temporal Lords and Burgesses embraced John the Common Weal, but the Spiritualty still stood aloof Correction then asked John the Common Weal what more he had to say against the Spiritual Lords There was much more, and he said it, Pauper the poor man heartily backing him with the complaint for his lost cows All that followed was debated and resolved with the assent of Two Estates and the dissent of the Lords Spiritual reforms as to the corpse-present and cow, as to the money spent at Rome in bribery, as to pluralities Each priest was to have but a single benefice, the bishops and the clergy were to preach and teach for what else were they paid in tithes? The Spiritual Lords asked where there was any such duty enjoined on them They were referred by Good Counsel to what St Paul wrote to Timothy

> "'Tak, thair, the buik let se gif ye can spell'
> 'I never red that Thairfoir, reid it yoursel'"

Good Counsel then read the passage aloud (1 Timothy iii 1, 2, 3) Spiritualty hinted that it had been good that Paul had never been born John Common Weal thought that if King David, who founded so many

abbeys, could look down and see the abominations in them, he would wish he had not narrowed his income threescore thousand pounds a year, King James I called him a dear saint to the crown For this suggestion Spirituality held that John Common Weal deserved to be incontinently burnt Called upon to make his confession of faith, John gave for it the Apostle's Creed, adding that he believed in Holy Church, but not in these bishops and friars upon which Correction held him to be a good Christian It was further resolved that no clergy should judge of temporal causes Verity and Chastity then claimed that fit clergy should replace those who were enemies to them, and said that poor ignorant men understood their own crafts better than the clergy theirs, in witness whereof the shoemaker and tailor were produced and examined in their trades Then Diligence was sent to search for a good preacher While he was gone Theft entered, and Mighty Oppression, who was in the stocks, contrived to slip out, leaving Petty Theft in his place Diligence came back with a Doctor of Divinity and two Licentiates There followed examination of a Bishop, of an Abbot, of a Parson, of a Prioress, and the Sermon was called for This the Doctor preached His argument was that Christ through love died to save man, and that God asks of us only love for love Love, he taught, is the ladder with but two steps by which we may climb to Heaven, the first step being Love of God, the second Love of our Neighbour The Parson and the Abbot scoffed at this doctrine, and called the Doctor down out of the pulpit When the two Licentiates had dwelt presently upon the poverty of Christ and the great wealth of His successors, Flattery, in the friar's dress, was seized for giving evil counsel to the prelates Then came the unfrocking and disclosure of the Vices, the deprivation of three perverse prelates, and the setting of the three wise clergy in their places John the Common Weal was gorgeously clothed, and seated in the Parliament, before which were read the Acts resolved upon The reading thus introduced by earnest dramatic satire, interspersed with some rough jesting to amuse the people, was a reading, in fifteen metrical clauses, of what might be called Sir David Lindsay's draft of a Reform Bill for Scotland Theft, Deceit, and Falsehood were then taken from the stocks and hanged, but Flattery escaped. Then entered Folly to jest, with a basketful of fools' caps When he found that the king gave bishoprics to preachers, Folly hung his fools' caps round the pulpit, and preached a satirical sermon to commend them to all purchasers They were commended to the merchant discontented with abundance, who torments himself for gain, to the rich old widower who has children and weds a girl, to the clergy who take cures only for pelf, to the princes who shed innocent blood in labour merely of

"ilk Christian prince to ding down uther" After Folly's sermon, Diligence spoke a short epilogue, and the play was over.

Before the end of 1540 the Estates, while they maintained the Pope's authority, so far followed Lindsay's lead as to pass a friendly Act of Reformation for abatement of "the unhonesty and misrule of kirkmen, baith in wit, knowledge, and manners," as "the matter and cause that the kirk and kirkmen are lightlied and condemned"

Now Lindsay is left for awhile, but he does not go out of the story

"The Book of Pluscarden"

From Fordun and Bower we pass to the later Scottish historians by way of "The Book of Pluscarden" This was the name given by George Buchanan, in his "History of Scotland," to a manuscript history from which he took some details of the death of the Duke of Clarence at the Battle of Baugé, in Anjou, in the year 1421 That reference by Buchanan, and his mention of a poem in English set in the Latin prose, identify the record Thus we learn that it belonged originally to the Cistercian Priory of Pluscarden, which lies in a wooded valley some six miles to the south-east of Elgin In the time of an abbacy that lasted from 1445 to 1460, the Cistercians were ejected from Pluscarden and Benedictines introduced In the chartulary of Dunfermline there is a commission to the Prior of Pluscarden by the Abbot of Dunfermline, which speaks of Pluscarden as a "cell of Dunfermline," and "a convent now of the Order of St Benedict" The original "Book of Pluscarden" is not now to be found, but there are two early copies of it, and a passage in it named 1461 as the year in which it was written It is a revised copy of the "Scotichronicon," with Bower's additions, but with abridgments, and with other additions that make it an original authority for many details of the wars of the Scots in France against the English from 1420 to 1445 Whoever wrote this chronicle says that he was for nine years daily about

the person of the Princess Margaret, who married the French dauphin in 1436, and died in 1445, of a slander, when but twenty-two years old The writer of the "Book of Pluscarden" knew Joan of Arc personally, and was present at her death He promised in the prologue to his chronicle to give an account of her, and in the copies that have come down to us this is begun, but breaks off in the second sentence He was a Scot, for he inserted in his Latin chronicle a translation of a French poem on the death of the dauphiness into his native dialect, a translation made by command of her brother James II This is the piece referred to by George Buchanan The author of "The Book of Pluscarden" was one also who knew Gaelic, for he restored Highland names miswritten by Bower to their Gaelic form He was also a cleric, for he says that he compiled the work by order of the Abbot of Dunfermline Mr William F Skene has argued, in a paper read before the Edinburgh Society of Antiquaries, that all these conditions are fulfilled in the person of Maurice Buchanan, treasurer to the dauphiness He was grandnephew by marriage to Sir John Stewart of Derneley He had probably settled among the Benedictines of Pluscarden in 1461, when he assented to the wish of his superior that he should add to a revised copy of the "Scotichronicon" his personal knowledge of the last doings of Scots in France The chief manuscripts of this work now in existence are two—one in Glasgow College, written between 1478 and 1496, when William Schevez, whose name heads the first page, was Archbishop of St Andrews, and a Fairfax MS in the Bodleian, of which the copyist adapted passages to his own time, and altered the date of writing, 1461, to 1489 There are later copies that were made from these * The writer of this

* "The Book of Pluscarden," edited by Felix J H Skene, nephew of William F Skene, was published in two volumes, one of the original Latin, the other of an English translation, with introduction

chronicle showed his skill as a poet not only by inserting in his Latin prose a metrical version of a poem on the death of Margaret the Dauphiness, but he closed the chronicle, after comment on the ills of Scotland following the murder of King James I, with an English poem in Chaucer stanza, which he described as "a Morality figuring the harmony or discord of a kingdom by the figure of a Harp" When the strings are in accord and the sound true, the song is sweet, when not, we wish the minstrel were away If the strings be out of tune, does not the fault lie in the wrist of the minstrel? So let the king look to his realm Then follow counsels on the way to tune a kingdom—well-intended words upon the old theme, *De Regimine Principum*

John Mair

John Mair—Latinised Major—was born in 1469, near North Berwick, in Haddingtonshire He went early, as a Scot, to France, and graduated in 1494 as Master of Arts in Paris at the College of Sainte-Barbe He then gave himself to the scholastic studies of the College of Montaigu, and graduated in 1505 as Doctor of Theology As teacher of logic and philosophy in the College of Navarre, he obtained wide reputation In 1518 he taught in the College at Glasgow, where he had John Knox among his pupils He wrote commentaries on Peter Lombard, and a History of Great Britain in six books of Latin, which joined the chronicles of England and Scotland His History was published at Paris in 1521, the year in which Luther appeared at the Diet of Worms This book, by a Scottish Doctor of the Sorbonne, was not sparing in condemnation of the corruptions of the clergy and the usurpations of the Court of Rome For each period Mair, who weighed evidence carefully, gave first the English history and then the Scottish For its free speech, Mair's history was placed by the orthodox abroad below its author's

and notes, in 1877, as one of the series of "The Historians of Scotland," issued by William Paterson in Edinburgh

scholastic writings In 1525 Mair returned to Paris, and remained there teaching until 1530 In 1533 he was established at St Andrews as Provost of St Salvator's College, where he died in 1550

Five years later than Mair's History of Britain, Hector Boece (Boyis or Boyce) published, also at Paris and in Latin, his "History of the Scots" He was born at Dundee, and was a few years older than Mair He went early as a Scot to France, studied at Paris in the College of Montaigu, where he became Professor when his age was about twenty-one At the end of the fifteenth century, Hector Boece was invited by William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, to assist him in the work of founding a university in the city of Old Aberdeen, upon the plan of the universities at Paris and Bologna The collegiate church within the University, known afterwards as King's College, was founded in 1505, with Boece for its first principal He gathered learned men about him, and made the new University of Aberdeen aid powerfully in the advance of culture He himself delighted in the study of history He presented to his college a manuscript of Fordun He published at Paris, in 1522, the lives of the Bishops of Mortlach and Aberdeen, including the life of his friend William Elphinstone, who had died eight years before In 1527 he published his History of Scotland from the earliest times to the accession of James III Boece accepted from Fordun and Bower the early traditions of the history of Scotland without critical dissent, for which his book was the more popular The king gave him, in 1527, a pension of £50 Scots His university gave him, in 1528, its degree of Doctor James V caused Boece's History to be translated into Scottish prose by John Bellenden, and this translation was printed at Edinburgh in 1536 A continuation of it to the death of James III was published in 1574 The pension given by the king seems to have ceased

Hector Boece

in 1534, when Boece obtained a benefice in Buchan, the rectory of Tiree He died in 1536

John Bellenden

John Bellenden, or Ballentyne, who translated Hector Boece's *Historia Scotorum* at the command of the young King James V, had begun his studies at St Andrews in 1508, and then continued them at Paris until he became a doctor of the Sorbonne He came back to Paris, and was, like David Lindsay, in the king's service (he calls himself "clerk of his comptis") until his more patriotic friends were parted from him He was paid also, as the Treasurer's accounts show, for work on the young king's behalf at a translation of Livy John Bellenden became Archdeacon of Moray and Canon of Ross As he held by the Pope, the fierceness of Church controversy drove him from Scotland, and he is supposed to have died—none can say when—at Rome

CHAPTER X

HISTORIANS IN ENGLAND.—LORD BERNERS, SIR THOMAS ELYOT, AND MANY WRITERS

THE passage from Latin Chronicles to Histories in English began with a Londoner, Robert Fabyan, if we leave out of account such early work as the rhymed Chronicle of England, written at the end of the thirteenth century by Robert of Gloucester, for recitation to the people; or the rhyming Chronicles of John Harding, who fought at Agincourt; and Andrew of Wyntoun. It is very noticeable also that the interest in English history, as matter that concerned the English people, began at the centre of English life, with citizens of London—here a lawyer, there a draper or a tailor who, except in the way of silk, scissors, and thread, knew little of the fashions of the Court.

Histories in English

Robert Fabyan, son of John Fabyan, of a respectable Essex family, was born in London, and apprenticed to a draper. He became a member of the Drapers' Company, Alderman of the Ward of Farringdon Without, and in 1493 served in the office of sheriff. In September, 1496, in the mayoralty of Sir Henry Colet, Robert Fabyan was chosen, with the Recorder and certain commoners, to ride to the king "for redress of the new impositions raised and levied upon English cloths in the archduke's land." That was the newly appointed Philip's charge of a florin for every piece of English cloth imported into the Low Countries; a charge withdrawn in July, 1497.

Robert Fabyan

Soon afterwards Fabyan was an assessor upon London wards of the fifteenth granted to Henry VII for his Scottish war In 1502 Fabyan resigned his alderman's gown to avoid the expense of taking the mayoralty, for, although opulent, he had a large family His wife, with four sons and two daughters, from a family of ten boys and six girls, survived him He died in 1512

Robert Fabyan was a good French and Latin scholar, and, in using monkish chronicles as material for his own compilation of history, was a devout adopter of the censures of all kings who were enemies to religious places Of Becket he spoke as a "glorious martyr" and a "blessed saint", of Henry II as a "hammer of Holy Church", but he was not credulous of miracles and marvels His "Concordance of Histories," afterwards called "New Chronicles of England and France, in Two Parts," opened with a prologue in Chaucer stanza, which represented its author as one who prepared material for the skilled artist or historian who should come after him to perfect what he had rudely shaped The prologue ended with an invocation to the Virgin for help, and the seven parts of the chronicle, which brought the history from Brut to his own time, ended with seven metrical epilogues, entitled the "Seven Joys of the Blessed Virgin" The chronicle itself was in prose, with translation into English verse of any Latin verses that were cited A notable example of this was Fabyan's English version of the Latin verses said to have been made by Edward II in his imprisonment

Fabyan's Chronicle was first printed by Richard Pynson in 1516 as the "New Chronicles of England and France," and ended at the Battle of Bosworth The second edition, published in 1533 by Rastell, gave for the first time Fabyan's record of events in the reign of Henry VII. A fourth edition, in 1559, had a continuation by another hand, to the accession of Elizabeth

The next English chronicler was Edward Hall, son of John Hall, of Northall, in Shropshire, who was born near the close of the fifteenth century, and, after training at Eton, went, in 1514, to King's College, Cambridge After graduating as B A at Cambridge, Edward Hall entered, in 1518, to Gray's Inn In 1532 Edward Hall was appointed Common Serjeant of the City of London, in 1533 he was summer Reader of Gray's Inn, and again, in 1540, double Reader in Lent and one of the judges of the Sheriff's Court He entered Parliament as a supporter of the king's view of his prerogative, and sat in 1542 for Bridgenorth It was in 1542 that Edward Hall published the first edition of his Chronicle, finished in 1542, and supplemented with notes that were used by Richard Grafton for its continuation The first edition was printed by Berthelet in 1542, the second in 1548, a year after Hall's death, and the third by Richard Grafton in 1550 Its historical theme is set forth in its long title, "The Union of the Noble and Illustre Families of Lancastre and York, being long in continual dissension for the Crown of the noble Realm, with all the acts done in both the times of the Princes both of the one lineage and of the other, beginning at the time of King Henry the Fourth, the first author of this Division, and so successively proceeding to the reign of the high and prudent Prince, King Henry the Eighth, the indubitable flower and very heir of both the said lineages" Though Edward Hall was a thorough defender of the policy of Henry VIII, and supported in Parliament the Act of the Six Articles, both his father and his mother were in active sympathy with the men persecuted as heretics Hall, like Fabyan, in speaking of his own time, writes with especial attention to affairs of London The rising of the prentices against foreigners on Evil May Day, the dealings of Wolsey with the London Corporation for the raising of

Edward Hall

money, are told as by an eye-witness Hall's Chronicle has a sustained interest that arises from its unity of purpose The strong upholding of Henry VIII is meant for a strong assertion of the authority of the English Crown against all forces of discord Hall used for Henry VII's reign the Latin History of Polydore Vergil, and applied, in some measure, to his English prose the Latin rhetorical style But he does not bury little matter under many words He shaped an English Chronicle that Shakespeare read, and used in the framing of some of his historical plays

Minor Writers

We must now take note of a company of minor writers who express in different ways the current of opinion as it eddies by the banks Then, pushing again into mid-stream, we complete in this volume the record of the course of English Literature from the invention of Printing to the first licensing of the diffusion of a printed Bible in English Richard Grafton was its printer, a member of the Grocers' Company who turned printer He printed Hardyng's Chronicle in 1543, with a continuation in prose from where Hardyng left off, at the beginning of Edward IV's reign, to the date of publication He it was who produced the edition of Hall's Chronicle in 1548 There will be more to say of him

Richard Grafton

The current of thought in any period is always indicated clearly by the direction in which the main body of its writers move To show this for the time we are now studying, let us glance over a little crowd of books and men, once high in repute, and now almost forgotten

A "Kalendar of Shepherds"

A "Kalendar of Shepherds" was printed by Wynken de Worde in 1497, translated by an unknown writer from a French *Kalendrier des Bergers* It was a perpetual almanac in verse and prose, with information about saints' days for the year, movable feasts, signs of the Zodiac, and a metrical

character of each month, also with rules for blood-letting, a collection of proverbs, and general information about many things, including the punishments assigned in Hell to each one of the Seven Deadly Sins

Robert Bale

Robert Bale, of Norwich, who died in 1503 Prior of Carmelites at Burnham, had lived with the Carmelites at Oxford for purposes of study He wrote in Latin short Annals of the Order of the Carmelites, and an *Officium Simonis Angli*, that is, of Simon Stock, the most famous of the Carmelites, and the first of his Order who took a degree at Oxford The legend of Simon Stock is that when he was a Kentish boy, but twelve years old, he went into the woods, lived in a hollow tree (whence his surname), fed upon wild herbs and fruit, and said it was revealed to him that some should come out of Syria and confirm his Order This came to pass when the Carmelites first settled in England, and he became Master-General of their Order, and worked miracles

John Sowle

John Sowle, who was a Carmelite of the White Friars in Fleet Street, was a friend of Colet's, and, like Colet, a special student of Saint Paul John Sowle died in 1508

Henry Bradshaw

Henry Bradshaw, born in Chester, joined as a youth the Benedictines in St Werbergh's After studying at Gloucester College, Oxford, among novices of his Order, he returned to his cell in the Abbey, where he shaped, from Monastic Chronicles and Latin Lives of Saints, into English verse, "The Life of the glorious Virgin S Werbergh Also many Miracles that God hath shewed for her" This included an account of the foundation of Chester and Lives of Saint Etheldred and Saint Sexburgh Henry Bradshaw died in 1513, and his Life of St Werbergh was printed in 1521 He wrote also a Life of St Radegunde, which Pynson printed without date This good Benedictine's reference to poets of his

time indicates the popularity of Barclay's "Ship of Fools" and the repute of Skelton

> "To all auncient poetes, litell boke, submitte the
> Whilom flouryng in eloquence facundious,
> And to all other whiche present now be
> First to Maister Chaucer and Ludgate sentencious,
> Also to preignaunt Barkley, now beyng religious,
> To inuentive Skelton and poet laureate,
> Praye them all of pardon both erly and late"

Richard Pace

Richard Pace, or Paice, has been already spoken of* He was received as a boy into the household of Thomas Langton, Bishop of Winchester, who found him an apt scholar and a good musician Langton bequeathed him a pension for seven years to maintain him in his studies at Bologna He settled next with Dr Bainbridge, Langton's successor as Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, afterwards Cardinal and Archbishop of York Pace went with him to Rome, and when Bainbridge was poisoned, Pace, one of his executors, was strenuous in effort for detection of the murderers From the service of Cardinal Bainbridge he passed into that of Henry VIII as the King's Secretary In 1514 he followed Wolsey in the prebend of Bugthorpe in the Church of York, when Wolsey was made Bishop of Lincoln, and later in the same year Dr Pace was made Archdeacon of Dorset The King sent him on missions, and in 1519 he became Colet's successor as Dean of St Paul's John Stow, in his Annals, reports of "this Dr Pace" that he "was a right worthy man, and one that gave in counsel faithful advice, learned he was also, and endowed with many excellent parts and gifts of nature, courteous, pleasant, and delighting in music, highly in the King's favour, and well heard in matters of weight" Upon

* "E W" vii, 31, 63*n*

the death of Leo X, in 1521, Dr Pace was sent to Rome in hope that he might aid in procuring Wolsey's elevation to the Papacy, but Adrian VI was elected before Pace came to his journey's end He was sent afterwards by the king to Venice, where his intimate knowledge of Italian and his good wit were alike serviceable But he had fallen out of favour with Wolsey for his readiness to assist the Duke of Bourbon in obtaining money which Henry VIII had supplied as aid in the war against Francis I, and also for his want of readiness when there was the question of Wolsey's election to be Pope at Rome Wolsey contrived that Pace should be left at Venice without letters of instruction from the Court in Council, and without the due allowances for diet This neglect unsettled his reason When the Venetian Ambassador in London asked Wolsey whether there were any instructions to the English Ambassador in Venice, Wolsey only replied, "Pace has deceived the king" When the king heard of Pace's insanity, he sent for him back Pace recovered his interest in study The king then spoke with him in Wolsey's absence, and afterwards called upon Wolsey for explanations Wolsey turned them into accusations, and Dr Pace was confined for two years in the Tower, where his reason was again lost He was released, but died insane *

* In Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*, when the king is speaking with Gardiner, his new secretary, Cardinal Campeius says to Wolsey—

"My lord of York, was not one Doctor Pace
In this man's place before him?"

Wolsey— "Yes, he was"

Camp —"Was he not held a learned man?"

Wolsey— "Yes, surely"

Camp —

"Believe me, there's an ill opinion spread, then,
Even of yourself, lord Cardinal"

Wolsey— "How! of me?"

Pace's Latin Oration delivered in St Paul's on the Peace between the kings of France and England was printed by Richard Pynson in 1518 There are published letters of his to Edward Lee and to Erasmus He wrote also a preface to a study of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus, and a book, in 1527, on the unlawfulness of the king's marriage to Queen Katherine

Dr Pace's secretary at Venice was Thomas Lupset, son of a London citizen and goldsmith He became known as a boy to Colet, who, for his good promise, sent him to St Paul's School, where he became one of the most distinguished of its early scholars Colet afterwards supported him in Cambridge, at Pembroke Hall Lupset studied in the University of Paris before 1519, when he settled at Oxford in Corpus Christi College, and was presently made Cardinal Wolsey's Reader in Rhetoric He was admitted Master of Arts in 1521 on consideration of four years' study, part at Paris, part at Oxford, and soon afterwards read Wolsey's Greek Lecture there After he had served in Venice as secretary to Richard Pace, he was, in 1523, with Reginald Pole at Padua He then travelled to Italy as tutor to Thomas Winter, Wolsey's natural son In April, 1526, he was instituted to the rectory of Great Mongeham, in Kent, and three months later to the rectory of St Martin, Ludgate In 1530 he was made rector of Cheriton, in Hampshire, and prebendary of Ruscombe in the Church of Sarum He wrote "an Exhortation to Young Men, persuading them to Walk Honestly," printed in 1535 and 1538, also a "Treatise of Charity," printed by Berthelet in 1539, and there was

Thomas Lupset

Camp —

"They will not stick to say, you envied him,
And fearing he would rise, he was so virtuous,
Kept him a foreign man still, which so grieved him,
That he ran mad, and died "

published in 1534, 1541, 1546, and 1560, his English *Ars Moriendi*, " A compendious and a very frutefyl treatyse teachynge the waye of dyenge well, writen to a frende, by the flowre of lerned men of hys tyme, Thomas Lupsete, Londoner, late deceased, on whose sowle Jesu have mercy " His collected works were published in 1545 Lupset made himself useful as corrector of the press, and assisted in that way the publication of Linacre's edition of Galen *De Sanitate Tuenda*, and of the second edition of Sir Thomas More's " Utopia "

John Batmanson

John Batmanson died in November, 1531, Prior of the Charterhouse by Smithfield He wrote against Erasmus for his Annotations on the New Testament, and against the Doctrine of Luther, but withdrew both books His successor, John Houghton, was hanged for denial of the king's supremacy

John Kynton

John Kynton, a Franciscan, and Doctor of Divinity, succeeded John Roper at Oxford as Lady Margaret Divinity Professor, and wrote, in 1521, by command of Henry VIII, a Latin treatise against the Doctrine of Martin Luther He died in 1535

John Rastell

John Rastell, a Londoner, after liberal education at Oxford, established himself at London as a printer in days when many cultivated men, who were their own press correctors, and used their presses with definite intellectual aims, had placed exercise of the printer's art among the liberal professions John Rastell married Sir Thomas More's sister Elizabeth, printed some of the controversial books of his brother-in law, and wrote several books of his own, including an Apology, written against John Fryth, which was answered by Fryth in a way that drew his adversary into good accord with the reformers John Rastell died in 1536, leaving a son William, a lawyer, who edited More's English works in 1557, and another John, who was a justice of the peace

Robeit Whittington, born in Lichfield, and educated at Oxford, in 1513 represented to the regents in the University of Oxford that he had spent fourteen years in the study of rhetoric and twelve in the teaching of boys, and asked for the degree of Laureate Having stuck up a thousand Latin verses of his own upon the door of St Mary's Church, he was laureated by the University in July of that year, and in addition to this grade, which implied a doctorate in Grammar and Rhetoric, he was admitted to the standing of a Bachelor of Arts Thereafter he wrote himself in his books "Protovates Angliæ" He was a vain man, who earned his repute as a schoolmaster, wrote grammars and grammatical treatises, and translated Latin books for his boys from Cicero and Seneca, also Erasmus's *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium* Some thought him, in his own time, to be as famous a schoolmaster as William Lilly Some thought him an ass He wrote praises of Wolsey, both in verse and prose

Robert Whitting ton

Whittington's pretensions were opposed, and his verses criticised, in a couple of books, published in 1521, by William Horman, Vice-Provost of Eton * Horman was born in Salisbury, educated, Bale says, at King's College, Cambridge, Antony Wood says, at Winchester and New College After graduation as M A, he became a Master and, in April, 1502, a Fellow of Eton College, where he was afterwards Vice-Provost He was for nine years Rector of East Wrotham, in Norfolk, but resigned that benefice in 1503 He wrote for the use of his Eton boys a book of sentences in English and Latin, *Vulgaria Puerorum*, printed in 1519 and 1530 He wrote also "Elegies on the Death of William Lilly" in 1522, a compendium of the "History of William of Malmesbury", an "Epitome of the History of Pico di Mirandola", and two

William Horman

* *Antibossicon ad Gul Lilium Apologeticon contra Rob Whittingtoni, Protovatis Angliæ incivilem indoctamque criminationem*

books of Human Anatomy He died in April, 1535, and was buried in Eton College Chapel

Robert Shirwood

Robert Shirwood, of Coventry, studied at Oxford, read lectures on Hebrew in some foreign universities, and published at Antwerp, in 1523, a book on the Hebrew text of the Book of Ecclesiastes, with notes from the Chaldee and Rabbinical interpretations This he dedicated to John Webbe, Prior of the Benedictines at Coventry Shirwood was also proficient as a Greek scholar, and was living, in high esteem among learned men, in the year 1530

Robert Wakefield

Robert Wakefield, of the North of England, graduated at Cambridge, and became the foremost Oriental scholar of his time He travelled, obtained much knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, and of Arabic, Chaldaic, and Syriac He taught those languages at Tubingen and Paris, was, in 1519, for four months Hebrew Professor at Louvain, returned to England, and through the friendship of Richard Pace, Dean of St Paul's, was made one of the king's chaplains In the matter of Queen Katherine, Robert Wakefield first took the queen's side, in the belief that she had married Henry as a virgin widow When convinced that this was not the case, he took the king's side in the argument He began, about 1530, to read the Hebrew lecture at Oxford, his brother, Thomas Wakefield, did the same afterwards at Cambridge Robert Wakefield died in 1537 He wrote a paraphrase of the Book of Ecclesiasticus Wynken de Worde printed, in 1523, his *Oratio de Laudibus et Utilitate trium Linguarum, Arabicæ, Chaldaicæ, et Hebraicæ, atque Idiomatibus Hebraicis quæ in utroque Testamento inveniuntur* Wynken de Worde, for want of Hebrew types, omitted the whole third part of this book, and in the other parts used a few letters of Hebrew and Arabic, rudely cut in wood for the purpose This was the first use of such letters by an English printer Wakefield wrote also Latin books

on Agriculture, on the Best State of a Republic, on Peace, on Parsimony, on Faith and Works, and he made a Chaldee Lexicon At the breaking-up of the monasteries, he took pains for the rescue and preservation of their Greek and Hebrew books

Richard Kedermyster (Kidderminster), Abbot of Winchcombe, who had entered that Benedictine monastery as a boy of fifteen, and had been sent thence to Gloucester College at Oxford, was a preacher in much favour at the Court of Henry VIII In 1515 he preached a sermon at Paul's Cross against the responsibility of the clergy to temporal judges, which was answered by Henry Standish, Guardian of the Franciscans in London Kedermyster wrote a Latin treatise against the Doctrine of Luther, and also a history of Winchcombe Monastery

Richard Kedermyster

Henry Standish, the Franciscan, was of an old Lancashire family He studied at both Universities, and after serving as Guardian of the Franciscan Convent in London, and acting as Provincial of his Order, he was made, in 1519, Bishop of St Asaph In 1526 he went, with Sir John Baker, on embassy to Denmark, and in 1530 he was one of the bishops who assisted and directed Queen Katherine in the suit concerning her divorce He was opposed strongly to the new teaching in the Church, and wrote a treatise against Erasmus's translation of the New Testament He died in the course of nature in August, 1535, and so escaped the day of persecution for his loyalty to Rome

Henry Standish

Christopher Seintgerman (St. Germain), son of Sir Henry Seintgerman, knight, by Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Tindale, was born at Shilton, near Coventry, about the year 1460 He passed from Oxford to the Inner Temple, and became a learned lawyer, who remained unmarried He used his

Christopher Seintgerman

paternal estate as means for the accumulation of one of the largest law libraries of his time, and means also of help to the poor, to whom he gave his unpaid service as a lawyer He was in sympathy with the Church Reformers, and a devout student of the Bible, from which every night, when he was not engaged abroad, he read and interpreted a chapter to the people of his house He wrote a Latin Dialogue, published in 1528, afterwards Englished as "Doctor and Student Being a Dialogue between a Doctor of Divinity and a Student in the Common Laws of England," which was in its original edition "*Dialogus de fundamentis Legum Angliæ, et de Conscientia*", a showing forth of the essential harmonies between Law and Religion Seintgerman wrote also a "Treatise, showing that Clergy cannot make Laws", a "Dialogue concerning the Power which belongs to the Clergy, and the Power which belongs to the People", a "Treatise of the Church and the meaning thereof", a "Treatise of the Sacraments", and an "Apology written to Sir Thomas More" Seintgerman brought the mind of a highly-cultivated and religious lawyer to discussion of questions touching Church and State in the earlier stage of the English Reformation under Henry VIII There can be no doubt that it was the mind of a ripe lawyer, for he died at the age of eighty in September, 1540

William Whytford

William Whytford, of an old family in Flintshire, was a Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, who had, in 1497, five years' leave of absence from his college, to go abroad with William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, as his confessor He was chaplain afterwards to Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester William Whytford was a friend of Erasmus Erasmus dedicated to him his edition of Lucian's "Tyrannicide," and Whytford published a few books of his own, including "The Psaltery of Jesus," which became a popular book of devotion, "Saint Augustine's Rule" in English, printed in 1525, by Wynken de

Worde, "A Werke for Householders, or for them that have the gydynge or governaunce of any Company" (1531), "The Pipe or Tonne of the Life of Perfection, in defence of the three Vows of Religion against Luther" (1532), "Saint Bonaventure, his lessons, entitled *Alphabetum Religiosorum*, Englysshed by a brother of Syon, Richard Whitford" (1532), also "A Dialogue, or Communication, betwene the Curate, or Ghostly Father, and the Parochiane, or Ghostly Child, for a due preparacion unto the Howselinge" (1537), with other books, all for the help of those who make good life their aim William Whytford entered the Monastery of Sion, had a pension of £8 upon its dissolution, and was alive in 1541

John Bourchier's father, Humphrey Bourchier, fought on the side of Edward IV, and was killed at the Battle of Barnet, in April, 1471 In 1474 John Bourchier, aged seven—for he was born in 1467, at Therfield, about four miles from Royston, in Hertfordshire—succeeded his grandfather as Baron Berners, second of that name His grandfather, John Bourchier, youngest son of William Bourchier, Earl of Ewe, had been created Baron Berners in 1455 John Bourchier, second Lord Berners, is said to have studied at Balliol College, Oxford In 1492, when his age was five-and-twenty, he agreed to serve King Henry VII beyond sea, for a whole year, in his wars Five years later he served against the Cornish rebels who supported Perkin Warbeck He was in the service of King Henry VIII at the capture of Terouenne, and in the same year (1513) he was Marshal of the Earl of Surrey's army in Scotland In October, 1514, he was with the king's sister, Mary, as chamberlain, when she was married to Louis XII

John Bourchier, Lord Berners

In May, 1516, Lord Berners became Chancellor of the Exchequer Holbein painted him in the robes of that office In 1518 he was joined with the Archbishop of Armagh in a mission to Spain In 1520 he and his wife

were at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and in December of that year he was made Lieutenant of Calais during pleasure There he strengthened the fortifications, watched the armies in France and the Low Countries, and, at the suggestion of Henry VIII, worked at his clear and vigorous translation of Froissart This book, though a translation, was a masterpiece of idiomatic English prose Lord Berners was inspired, no doubt, by the liveliness of his original in style and matter, but he so translated as to give his Froissart a lasting place among the classics of the English language Its first volume was published in folio by Richard Pynson in 1523, the second in 1525, as "the Cronicles of Englande, France, Spayne, Portyngale, Scotland, Bretayne, Flaunders and other Places adioynynge, translated out of Frenche into our maternall Englysshe Tonge, by Johan Bourchier, Knight, Lorde Berners"

His Translation of Froissart

Lord Berners, who had been in money difficulties, was plagued by-law-suits, and occasionally a borrower from Henry VIII of money which he did not repay He was helped ineffectually in 1528 by grants of manors His money troubles lasted to the end of life About the year 1530 he translated the French prose romance of "Sir Huon of Bordeaux," upon the suggestion of the Earl of Huntington, who had it printed in 1534, after the translator's death * Lord Berners translated also "The History of the moost noble and valyaunt knight, Artheur of Lytell Britaine," and Antonio de Guevara's "Marcus Aurelius," then a new book, first published in 1529 as "The Clock or Dial for

Other Translations—"Sir Huon of Bordeaux"

"Marcus Aurelius"

* Lord Berners's Translation of Sir Huon was printed again in 1601 "by Thomas Purfoot at his shop at the little north dore of Poules, at the signe of the Gunne" In 1883 it was published as one of the collection of Charlemagne Romances in the Extra Series of the Early English Text Society, where it had one of the best of editors in Mr Sidney L Lee

Princes" (*Relox de Principes*) This was John Bourchier's last work, undertaken at the suggestion of his nephew Sir Francis Bryan, and finished six days before his death, on the 16th of March, 1533 Antonio de Guevara died twelve years later, Bishop and Imperial Historiographer He had designed in his "Dial for Princes" to offer to Charles V a Life of Marcus Aurelius, shaped into an ideal of a prince more perfect even than the hero of the Cyropædia The book was translated into Latin, Italian and French To Lord Berners it came through the French But Lord Berners also translated, as "The Castell of Love," the *Carcel de Amor* (Prison of Love), a romantic prose fiction by the Spanish poet Diego de San Pedro, a piece first published in 1492, which was very popular, and of which the romantic adventures are introduced by an allegory that suggests the fashion of some later English allegories The author walks in winter in a wood, where a fierce savage is seen dragging a prisoner by a chain The savage is Desire, the prisoner is Leriano, hero of the romance, whom the author follows, as he is dragged into the Prison of Love, and fastened there in torment to a fiery seat But this allegory ends with the release obtained for Leriano, and the rest is simply a romance of chivalry John Bale says that Lord Berners wrote also a comedy, *Ite ad Vineam*, which was often acted after vespers at Calais The title of this piece indicates a version of the parable in the twentieth chapter of Matthew, but the piece is lost

"The Castell of Love"

John, son of Henry and Margaret Bale, was born on the 21st of November, 1495, in the village of Cove, near the old seaport of Dunwich, in Suffolk, where there was once a town with churches and monasteries, of which the sites are now under the sea, and where there are now only the homes of a few herring- and sprat-fishers As one of a large family whose means were small, Bale was

John Bale

sent, when twelve years old, to the monastery of the Carmelites at Norwich, then to another religious house, which he calls Holme It may have been the Carmelite Abbey of Holn, near Alnwick, in Northumberland, but there is a Benedictine Abbey of Hulme upon the coast of Norfolk John Bale was sent to Jesus College, Cambridge, and graduated B D in 1529 After this he obtained the living of Thornden, in Suffolk He told afterwards, in the "Vocacyon of John Bale," that he was drawn to the side of the Church Reformers by the influence of Lord Wentworth Then he threw off his monastic vows, and "took to wife the faithful Dorothy" In 1534 he was brought into question by Dr Edward Lee, Archbishop of York, for sermons preached at Doncaster against invocation of saints. He was brought also before John Stokesley, Bishop of London, but released through the intervention of Thomas Cromwell

John Bale became, after this time, a diligent writer, and is said to have first produced, in 1538, his "Tragedie, or Enterlude, manifesting the chief Promises of God unto Man by all ages in the Olde Lawe, from the Fall of Adam to the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ" To the same date is assigned "A brefe Comedy, or Enterlude, of Johan Baptistes preachynge in the Wyldernesse, openynge the crafty assaultes of the hypocrites, with the gloryouse baptysm of the Lord Jesus Christ", and 1538 is said to be the date also of two other such pieces, namely "A briefe Comedy, or Enterlude, concernynge the temptatyon of oure Lorde and Saver, Jesus Christ, by Sathan in the desart," and "A New Comedy, or Enterlude, concerning three lawes, of Nature, of Moises, and Christe, corrupted by the Sodomytes, Pharysies, and Papists" In 1540 Bale escaped to the Low Countries, where he lived for the next eight years with his wife and children, always busy with his pen As the main part of John Bale's life as a writer was after the year 1540, the

Religious Interludes

date to which this volume brings its narrative, here we will leave Bale, and return to him when he returns to England

John Leland was born in London, in September, 1506 or 1507 There had been a grammarian of the same name who taught at Oxford, near the Church of St Fridiswide That Leland died at Oxford in 1428, after writing declamations in Latin and Greek, and a treatise on genders, by which he earned from his admirers the line, "*Ut Rosa flos florum, sic Leland Grammaticorum*" Though that Leland is now forgotten, memory of him caused Leland of Henry VIII's time to be distinguished in former days as "Lelandus junior" from "Lelandus senior et grammaticus" John Leland, junior, having lost his parents, was cared for by Thomas Myles, possibly the Thomas Myles who graduated D D of Cambridge in 1512, and was Prior of Boxgrove, in Sussex, at the dissolution of that house in 1538 Thomas Myles kept young Leland at St Paul's School, under William Lilly, and in due time entered him at Christ's College, Cambridge, where he graduated in the year 1522 After this, Leland went to Oxford, where he was chosen a Fellow of All Souls' in 1525 In a Latin Encomium, *Ad Thomam Milonem*, Leland afterwards expressed his gratitude to his guardian for all his care *

John Leland

From Oxford Leland went, with an exhibition from

* "Dicerer a cunctis merito ingratissimus esse,
Si non laudaret Te mea Musa, Milo
Tu me vel teneris annis utroque parente
Orbum accepisti, vel pietate mera
Tu me informandum studiis melioribus usque
Curasti instructor Lillius ille fuit
Cujus ab industria cura didicere Britanni
Facunde pubes ingeniose loqui
Tu me Socraticos Juvenem post inter alumnos
Qua nitet eximie Granta beata, locas
Deinde etiam Isiacum petii feliciter urbem," etc

Henry VIII, to continue his studies at the University of Paris He acquired knowledge of French, Italian, and Spanish, as well as of Latin and Greek, wrote Latin verse, and was accounted an accomplished scholar when he came back to England and took holy orders Henry VIII made him one of his chaplains, and gave him the rectory of Poppeling, in the marches of Calais Afterwards the king made Leland Keeper of his Library, and in 1533 issued to him, under the Broad Seal, with the special title and dignity of King's Antiquary, a commission to search after the antiquities of England, "examining the libraries of all cathedrals, abbeys, priories, colleges, and all places wherein records, writings, and secrets of Antiquity were reposited" No man then living was more fit for such an office, and the issue of this commission to John Leland is another illustration of the growing national strength of a land caring the more for her past as she became more conscious of her future A stipend was paid to Leland for his new services, he was authorised, in July, 1536, to keep a curate at Poppeling, and travel where he would For the next six years Leland was journeying from place to place, gathering knowledge of men and things that concerned the mind-history of England He was still engaged upon this work, accumulating books and notes, in the year 1540, when his age was about thirty-four We return to him in the next volume

Endowment of Grammar Schools

The stir of the new life is felt in every direction During the reign of Henry VIII sixty-three new foundation grammar schools were established There had been sixteen such foundations in the reign of Henry VII, and sixteen in all the time before, so that the school foundations in Henry VIII's reign were within one of doubling the number of all that had been established before Henry VIII was king This movement for the spread of education gathered strength Fifty more schools were endowed in the six years

of the reign of Edward VI , even nineteen in the reign of Mary One hundred and thirty-eight endowed schools were founded in the reign of Elizabeth, and eighty-three in the reign of James I There were nearly sixty founded in the reign of Charles I , most of them poorly endowed, and the force of the first impulse was then spent

Sir Thomas Elyot's book, called "The Governour," pub lished in 1531, well represents the energy of thought concerning education in the reign of Henry VIII Sir Thomas was born before 1490, only son of Sir Richard Elyot, who had also a daughter Marjory He was educated at home, and it is not known that he was sent to either university He read Galen, he says, before he was twenty, with "a worshipful physician"—perhaps Linacre In 1511 he became Clerk of Assize on the western circuit, where his father had been judge since the beginning of the century The death of his father in 1522, and of a relation on his mother's side, put into Elyot's possession two manors in Cambridgeshire, and the estate of Combe, now Long Combe, near Woodstock, which became his home After this he married Wolsey, in 1523, of his own will, selected Elyot for the post of Clerk of the Privy Council, but omitted to provide for payment of a salary Elyot was relieved of this office in June, 1530, and had no recompense for his services but a knighthood In 1528, when he was Sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, he had resigned the office of Clerk of Assize "The Governour," published in 1531, when Sir Thomas Elyot, newly knighted, was a little more than forty years old, drew the king's attention to its author In the first sentence of its "Proheme" to Henry VIII , Elyot joins "my duty that I owe to my natural country" to his duty to his king, and in his second sentence he says that he feels bound to use the "one little talent" delivered to him, by making his study helpful to others Almost

Sir Thomas Elyot

"The Governour"

from childhood he had been employed in the king's business of furthering the public welfare, and he had been thus led to strengthen his experience by sayings of ancient authors He now writes his book, he says, "not of presumption to teach any person, I myself having most need of teaching, but only to the intent that men who will be studious about the weal public may find the thing thereto expedient compendiously written" He calls his book "The Governour" because it "treateth of the education of them that hereafter may be deemed worthy to be governors of the public weal under your highness"

"The Governour"

is divided into three sections or books

The First Book starts from Elyot's definition of a Public Weal, as "a body living, compact or made of sundry estates and degrees of men, which is disposed by the order of equity and governed by the rule and moderation of reason" To its well-being order is essential, and order cannot be without a single Head, inferior governors or magistrates being appointed by the sovereign governor Reason and Experience declare also that when the sovereign's dominion is large, there is need of those inferior governors, to be what Aristotle called his eyes, ears, hands, and legs These will be drawn from the estate called worshipful, when they have sufficient virtue and knowledge, or from men of the lower rank who are thought worthy to be so much advanced Men of the higher estate, having private means, should be less tempted to corruption, and they should have more affability and mildness than men country bred or very base of lineage Men also more readily obey them, and they have greater advantages of education open to them, "towards the which instruction," Elyot says, "I have prepared this work"

Sir Thomas Elyot then proceeds to set forth his view of the right training of a gentleman, beginning with the choice of a nurse to suckle him, and of a "governess, or dry nurse, another woman of approved virtue, discretion, and gravity, who shall not suffer in the child's presence to be showed any act or tache dishonest, or any wanton or unclean word to be spoken And for that cause all men, except physicians only, should be excluded and kept out of the nursery" There is to be like care in the choice of childish companions and playfellows Then

follows "the order of learning that a nobleman should be trained in before he come to the age of seven years." Elyot rather approves of the doctrine of those Greeks and Latins who said that before the age of seven years a child should not be instructed in letters; but then, he says, those were Greeks and Latins, "among whom all doctrine and sciences were in their maternal tongues, by reason whereof they saved all that long time which at this day is spent in understanding perfectly the Greek or Latin." Wherefore "the infelicity of our time and country compelleth us to encroach somewhat upon the years of children, and especially of noblemen, that they may sooner attain to wisdom and gravity than private persons." Sir Thomas would not have any children "enforced by violence to learn; but, according to Quintilian, to be sweetly allured thereto with praises and such pretty gifts as children delight in. And their first letters to be painted or limned in pleasant manner, wherein children of gentle courage have much delectation." He would have the learning of Latin begun in familiar speech by teaching children first to know the Latin names of things about them, and to ask for what they want in Latin as well as English. The reason for this early use of Latin was the necessity of learning early what was then the common language of the educated throughout Europe, in which nearly all books of higher instruction were written. "And," said Elyot, "it is no reproach to a nobleman to instruct his own children, or, at the least ways, to examine them by the way of dalliance and solace. . . . And why should not noblemen rather so do than teach their children how at dice and cards they may cunningly lose and consume their own treasure and substance?" The next caution is that all who speak in presence of a child should speak correctly, even the nurses and women, if it be possible, speaking pure and elegant Latin, "or, at the least way, that they speak no English but that which is clean, polite, perfectly and articularly pronounced, omitting no letter or syllable, as foolish women often do of a wantonness." At seven years old the boy should be withdrawn from company of women, saving that he may have for a year or two a grave, elderly matron attending on him in his chamber, which shall not have any young woman in her company. The tutor "should be an ancient and worshipful man, in whom is approved to be much gentleness mixed with gravity, and, as nigh as can be, such one as the child by imitation following may grow to be excellent. And if he be also learned, he is the more commendable." The office of the tutor is to know the nature of a pupil, and develop in him a courteous nature, with ready sympathies, a free and liberal heart, a knowledge of what honour is, what love. The discretion of a tutor consists in temperance,

that he do not dull the tender wit by the fatigue of continual study Elyot commends intermixture of musical training as a refreshment The harmony of music is type of the harmony of right life and right government, but it is better for a nobleman to be without knowledge of music than to make it matter of inordinate delight leading to wantonness If the child have an aptitude for painting or sculpture, it is good that he should be trained in it "in vacant times from other more serious learning" Such knowledge has been an ornament of kings, has served the purposes of captains, it quickens the sense of harmony in all things, "the wit thereto disposed will always covet congruent matter," and it gives to its possessor a livelier perception of what is read and heard

After pleasant early training by a tutor in the grammar of his own language, the child needs a master "excellently learned both of Greek and Latin, and therewithal of sober and virtuous disposition, specially chaste of living, and of much affability and patience," the work of the teacher still being to encourage and develop the young wit, and not to dull it by cruelty and anger The next argument is of authors to be read Greek should be begun early, and Latin, partly learned by the way of household speech, should be used in teaching it "After a few and quick rules of grammar, immediately, or interlacing it therewith, would be read to the child Æsop's fables in Greek, in which argument children much delight The next lesson would be some quick and merry dialogues elect out of Lucian, which be without ribaldry or too much scorning The comedies of Aristophanes may be in place of Lucian, and by reason they be in metre, they be the sooner learned by heart I dare make none other comparison between them, for offending the friends of them both, but thus much dare I say, that it were better that a child should never read any part of Lucian than all Lucian I could rehearse divers other poets which for matter and eloquence be very necessary, but I fear me to be too long from noble Homer, from whom, as from a fountain, proceedeth all eloquence and learning" While Greek is being studied, "some Latin author would be therewith mixed, and specially Virgil' After dwelling much on the praise of Homer and Virgil, Sir Thomas Elyot recommends next, as two noble poets very expedient to be learned, Silius and Lucan, each setting forth the emulation of two valiant captains—the one of Scipio and Hannibal, the other of Cæsar and Pompey With a word of Hesiod, and a few paragraphs in defence and praise of the poets, Sir Thomas presses on to logic and rhetoric, with praise by the way of "that little book made by the famous Erasmus (whom all gentle wits are bound to thank and support), which he calleth *Copiam Verborum et Rerum*, that is to say, 'Plenty of

Words and Matters '" He turns then to the studies of cosmography and history, and of moral philosophy, with praise by the way of Erasmus on the "Institution of a Prince" "And here," says Sir Thomas Elyot, "I make an end of the learning and study whereby noblemen may attain to be worthy to have authority in a public weal"

"Always I shall exhort Tutors and Governors of noble children, that they suffer them not to use ingurgitations of meat or drink, neither to sleep much—that is to say, above eight hours at the most For undoubtedly both repletion and superfluous sleep be capital enemies to study, as they be semblably to health of body and soul

"Aulus Gellius saith, that children if they use to eat and sleep overmuch be made therewith dull to learn And we see that thereof slowness is taken, and the children's personages do wax uncomely, and grow less in stature Galen will not permit that pure wine without allay of water should in any wise be given to children, forasmuch as it humecteth the body, or maketh it moister and hotter than is convenient, also it filleth the head with fume, in them specially which be like, as children of hot and moist temperature These be well nigh the words of the noble Galen"

Sir Thomas Elyot proceeds next to consider the causes of the decay of learning among gentlemen, and finds them in the pride, avarice, and negligence of parents, and the lack or fewness of sufficient masters or teachers Pride looks upon learning as a notable reproach to a great gentleman, and hunting and hawking as more proper to their dignity Avarice grudges the cost of a good teacher A lord asks touching a schoolmaster only his price, where of a cook or a falconer he would minutely inquire into the qualification Negligence is in them who take pride in the early progress of a son, and when he is fourteen years old, and ready to pass on to more serious learning, suffer him then to live in idleness, or, by putting him to service, banish him from all virtuous study, and from exercise of that which he before learned Sir Thomas Elyot then reasons of the importance of continuing the studies of a youth after the age of fourteen, and shows how the statesman or the lawyer builds his power upon a well cultivated intellect, and the skill in rhetoric which only a trained mind can give Having lamented next the fewness of good schoolmasters as a chief impeachment of excellent learning, he turns to the sundry forms of exercise necessary for every gentleman Here he commends wrestling, running, insists much on the "excellent commodity that is in the feat of swimming," discusses riding, and vaulting-horses He has regard for hunting only when it is a manly sport, in which men are not mere followers of dogs, but themselves hunters of noble game, with javelin and other weapons, in

manner of war. Hunting the hare with greyhounds is well enough for studious men, cowards, and ladies who are not afraid of spoiling their complexions. Hunting and killing deer is good for the pot. Hawking is pleasant, though it gives less exercise than hunting. "But I would our falcons might be satisfied with the division of their prey, as the falcons of Thracia were, that they needed not to devour the hens of this realm in such number that unless it be shortly considered, and that falcons be brought to a more homely diet, it is right likely that within a short space of years our familiar poultry shall be as scarce as be now partridge and pheasant. I speak not this in dispraise of the falcons, but of them which keepeth them like cockneys."

Sir Thomas Elyot next gives seven chapters to dancing, an accomplishment in high favour at Henry VIII.'s Court, and works out in much detail a relation between the figures of dancing and the first moral virtue called Prudence. In closing the First Book of the "Governour," with reference to other exercises useful as preventatives of Idleness, he condemns dice playing as the most plain figure of Idleness and the allective by which Lucifer brings men into his servitude. Playing at cards and tables is, he says, more tolerable, but of all games wherein there is no bodily exercise, chess is, he says, most to be commended. Sir Thomas ends his First Book in the spirit of a courtly patriot of Henry VIII.'s time by commending shooting with the long-bow as the chief of exercises. Tennis, seldom used and for a little space, is a good exercise for young men. In football "is nothing but beastly fury and extreme violence, whereof proceedeth hurt, and consequently rancour and malice do remain with them that be wounded, wherefore it is to be put in perpetual silence." After his praise of shooting with the bow, Sir Thomas adds, "Hereat I conclude to write of exercises which appertaineth as well to princes and noblemen as to all other, by their example, which determine to pass forth their lives in virtue and honesty. And hereafter, with the assistance of God, unto whom I render this mine account for the talent that I have of Him received, I purpose to write of the principal and (as I might say) the particular study and affairs of him that by the providence of God is called to the most difficult care of a public weal."

The Second Book of the "Governour" begins with preparation that should be made by one who first receives any great dignity, charge, or governance of the weal public. His first consideration should be that from God only proceedeth all honour and power; his second should be not of the honour but of the care and burden, esteeming the place and its revenues as no booty or prey, but a laborious office and travail. The more dominion, the greater need of care and study. The finer

clothes and ornaments, the more need to think what a reproach it would be "to surmount in that which be other man's works and not theirs, and to be vanquished of a poor subject in sundry virtues, whereof they themselves be the artificers." Sir Thomas dwells on the responsibility to God and the service to man, as a just judge, and an observed example. Then follows a picture of majesty, fuller discussion of the outer state and the inner spirit of nobility, which is only the praise and surname of virtue. Chapters follow on the three qualities of gentleness—Affability, Placability, and Mercy. Then Sir Thomas Elyot turns to "the nature or condition of man wherein he is less than God Almighty, and excelling notwithstanding all other creatures on the earth." This is his Humanity, "which is a general name to those virtues in whom seemeth to be a mutual concord and love in the nature of man. And although there be many of the said virtues, yet be there three principal, by whom humanity is chiefly compact—benevolence, beneficence, and liberality—which maketh up the said principal virtue called Benignity, or Gentleness." These virtues having been severally discussed, Friendship, in which Benevolence and Beneficence are specially comprehended, is next treated of, and this leads to an old story re-told in an illustrative chapter—"The Wonderful History of Titus and Gisippus, and whereby is fully declared the figure of perfect amity." The rest of the Second Book discusses the Division of Ingratitude and the dispraise thereof, the election of friends and the diversity of flatterers. "This," says Sir Thomas Elyot, "I trust shall suffice for the expressing of that incomparable treasure, called Amitie, in the declaration whereof I have aboden the longer, to the intent to persuade the readers to insearch thereof vigilantly, and being so happy to find it, according to the said description, to embrace and honour it, abhorring above all things Ingratitude, which pestilence hath long time reigned among us, augmented by Detraction, a corrupt and loathly sickness, whereof I will treat in the last part of this work, that men of good nature espying it, need not, if they list, be therewith deceived." The subject of Detraction supplies matter accordingly for one of the chapters in the Third Book of "The Governour."

The Third Book of "The Governour" proceeds with the training in Ethics, by discussions and illustrations of Justice (to which man is directed by reason, society, and knowledge, and of which Faith or Fidelity is the foundation), and of the opposites of Justice, fraud and deceit. In Aristotle's Ethics, Vices consist only in the too much or too little of a Virtue. Following this system, Elyot speaks of Fortitude and the vices formed by its extremes, Audacity and Timerosity, of Patience, of Magnanimity, which may be named Valiant Courage, and of

Obstinacy and Ambition, familiar vices following Magnanimity, of Abstinence and Continence, of Constancy, of Temperance, of Sapience and the Definition thereof, of Understanding and of Experience which hath preceded our time, with a defence of Histories Then follows a chapter on the Experience or practice necessary in the person of a Governor of a Public Weal The next chapter is of Detraction, and the Image thereof made by the painter Apelles

There are but three chapters upon Counsel for the Public Weal between this and the close of the book called "The Governour" There may be a little reason in the idleness of speculation when one thinks of this among the books young Spenser would very probably have read with special liking, and holds it not inconceivable that the first vague thought of a poem which took definite shape as "The Faerie Queene" was born of that little suggestion from Lucian of an allegorical picture, at the end of a book that with variety of pleasant illustration applied the system of ethics to the shaping of a perfect gentleman

New editions of this book, printed by Thomas Berthelet, followed that of 1531 in 1534, 1537, 1546, and 1557, and there were two more in Elizabeth's reign

"The Castle of Health"

Desiring to plant a sound mind in a sound body, Sir Thomas Elyot followed his "Governour," in 1534, with a little treatise on the management of health, "The Castle of Health," which is, in the edition of 1610, a small quarto book of about a hundred and forty black-letter pages It has a "Proheme," in which the author justified himself for writing "about physic, which beseemeth not a knight" "Truly," he says, "if they will call him a physician which is studious about the weal of his country, I vouchsafe they so name me, for during my life I did in that affection always continue" Then he vindicates the honour of physic, hopes that the king will encourage and assist the cultivation in England of medicinal herbs, and though some of the new College of Physicians said of his book that it had errors, and of him that he was more learned in histories than in physic, yet he had read as many books of physic as the doctors, and found himself in body the better for having read them, though he had not studied

at Montpellier, Padua, or Salerno If there were errors in his book, they had been taken from the chief authorities "The Castle of Health" is interesting to the modern reader as a short guide to the common medical opinions of Elyot's time, which were little changed in the reign of Elizabeth The First Book is an account of complexions and humours, with meats and drinks suited or unsuited to each, things hurtful for the teeth and eyes, good for the head, heart, liver, and stomach The Second Book of "The Castle of Health" deals in detail with the properties of many kinds of meat and drink, with diet for different times of year, and times of eating, sleeping, taking exercise in sundry forms The Third Book deals with repletion and abstinence, bleeding, purging, influence of anger and grief upon health, adaptation of diet to the complexions and humours of the body The Fourth Book applies the previous teaching to different forms of interrupted health—crudities, rheums, lassitude, sicknesses that belong to seasons of the year, and all ends with "a diet preservative in time of pestilence" Sir Thomas Elyot thought that in the climate of England many people might find breakfasts to be necessary He allowed, therefore, to men under forty, three meals in a day, breakfast, dinner, and supper, provided that there was an interval of four hours between breakfast and dinner, and of six hours between dinner and supper

Other Books by Sir Thomas Elyot

Other books of Sir Thomas Elyot's were "Pasquil the Playne," a prose dialogue between Pasquil, Gnatho, and Harpocrates, on the advantages of silence, also a dialogue between Plato and Aristippus, "Of the knowledge which maketh a Wise Man", and one or two translations One translation was of the Oration of Isocrates to Nicocles, as "the Doctrine of Princes, made by the noble Oratour Isocrates and translated out of Greke in to Englishe" Other translations were of a sermon of Saint Cyprian on "The Mortalitie of Man,"

and of "The Rules of a Christian Lyfe, made by Picus Erle of Mirandola" These were all printed by Berthelet in 1533 and 1534

After the publication of "the Governour," Henry VIII sent Sir Thomas Elyot as ambassador to Charles V to obtain the Emperor's assent to the divorce of Queen Katherine He was also privately instructed to assist the English agent at Antwerp in a search for William Tyndal He was away a few months, receiving little attention from home, and paid only half as much as he was obliged to spend, his fault being that he gave advice not suited to King Henry's inclinations When he came home, Elyot was busy with his pen, and wished to avoid public life So it was that books of his followed one another through the press in 1533 and 1534 But in May, 1535, he was again sent as ambassador to Charles V He went with the emperor to Tunis, and at the end of the year, when in Naples, was told by the emperor of the execution of Sir Thomas More

Elyot's Last Years

When Elyot came home from this mission, he set to work upon a Latin-English Dictionary, which was issued in 1538 Sir Thomas Elyot, having two manors in Cambridgeshire, sat in Parliament for Cambridge in the year 1542. He was made Sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in November, 1544, and he died on the 20th of March, 1546 His Latin-English Dictionary had pleased the king, and laid to rest suspicions bred from knowledge of his close affection for Sir Thomas More

His Latin-English Dictionary

CHAPTER XI

CHANGE

Henry VIII breaks from the Pope

TRUTH is among us veiled According to his predilections each man is inclined to believe that he has seen her with the veil off, making sunshine in a shady place Let us say what we think, but let us think, and we cannot do that unless we weigh fairly our own thoughts against the thoughts of others Seen through the veil, Henry VIII was in the earlier part of his reign handsome of mind and body He was well educated in the studies of his time, and he retained the marks of what was then considered a religious education He was affable and well meaning It was in him also to be self-willed and self-indulgent, he showed also touches of his father's avarice, in being greedy for the means of being lavish If all who were about him had not yielded to his will, his good genius might have won the mastery, his faults might have been checked He might have been a statesman if he had not been a king, or if he had been a king less absolute As it was, he became more and more selfish and masterful Wolsey assented to his wrongful will More stood aside in silence Each knew that his counsel was only followed when it furthered the king's will "When the king has taken anything into his head," said Wolsey once, "nothing can move him" More counselled Thomas Cromwell, when he rose to power, not to let the king know how much he could do, or he would do it dangerously Yet we are not seeing the whole face of truth when we point a moral, and

comparing the beginning with the end of Henry VIII 's reign, say, Behold a man who drank daily the poison of an abject flattery, who misused power, and was corrupted in his mind and in his body by self-will and self-indulgence

It is true that want of a son to inherit the throne, at a time when no woman had ever reigned in England, was an element in Henry VIII 's wish to put away his first wife Katherine It is true also that he was deeply concerned about the prohibition in the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus, which had been covered before his marriage with his brother's wife by dispensation from the Pope It is true also that no man was better read than Henry VIII in argument about validity of the dispensing power in such cases of conscience It is true also that Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, who had been in France for a couple of years as one of the French Queen's women, and whose sister Mary he had already dishonoured, within a year after her return, took the king's fancy at a Court revel, in March, 1522 She was a girl under sixteen, and his interest in her grew, and he wrote her love-letters, and he fitted up apartments for her near his own, while he was seeking from the Pope a revocation of the Indulgence that had formally legalised his marriage to Queen Katherine It is true that without waiting for such revocation, about the 25th of January, 1533, the king secretly married Anne Boleyn, who was already pregnant by him It is true also that, because the Pope would not revoke a predecessor's act, Henry broke from the Pope

Change of Wives Births of Elizabeth and Edward

Cranmer pronounced the divorce from Katherine, and declared legal the marriage with Anne Boleyn, who was crowned on Whit-Sunday in Westminster Hall Her first child was again a disappointment to the king It was a daughter But it was the future Queen Elizabeth, born on the 7th of September, 1533

Anne Boleyn never had the love of the people, and soon lost that of the king The divorced Queen Katherine died on the 8th of January, 1536 Queen Anne's marriage was declared invalid on the 17th of the next following May, and two days later she was executed upon charges in which none saw the clear face of truth On the day after Anne Boleyn's execution, the king married Jane Seymour, who, on the 12th of October, 1537, gave birth to the son who lived to reign as King Edward VI The Queen died twelve days afterwards, and the king remained unmarried until April, 1540 His new wife, Anne of Cleves, proved so much less good-looking than her picture that his majesty let her alone, and bought her out of wifehood with a divorce and an allowance of £3,000, upon which she was to live in England with the title of the king's sister, the king presently taking for his fifth wife the Duke of Norfolk's niece, Katherine Howard These were the king's wives to the year 1540 Katherine Howard was only to be queen for a year She was declared to have been incontinent before her marriage, and was beheaded in 1541, to be followed in 1543 by Katherine Parr, and this third Katherine survived her husband

Henry VIII breaks from Wolsey

If we turn now from the king's wives to his best Ministers, who fared no better at his hands, how hard it is to see through the veil of truth when we desire a full knowledge of Wolsey! He was ambitious, and ambition is overbearing, but he had noble ambitions for his country and his king He was, probably, the greatest statesman of his time, but his best plans were crossed by the king After the capture of King Francis at Pavia, in 1525, Wolsey's better policy was wholly crossed by Henry VIII's low-minded eagerness to seize the opportunity for an invasion of France Wolsey had to find for the king more money than the land could pay, and bore in silence the whole obloquy of that

" Amicable Loan " which would have brought upon the king the indignation of the people The king left Wolsey to bear it all It was by the king's wish that Wolsey had, in 1518, been appointed the Pope's legate *a latere*, as from the Pope's side and with a Pope's authority in England, above that of the Archbishop of Canterbury It was by the king's wish that, in 1529, proceedings were taken against Wolsey by the Statute of Præmunire for having usurped legatine powers The king's plunder of all Wolsey's possessions extended to the seizure of the college he had founded in his birthplace, and of the college he built at Oxford, Cardinal's College, which was afterwards re-founded as Christchurch While Wolsey was dying, Master Kingston was at his bedside, sent by the king to worry about fifteen hundred pounds that had been entered in a list of Wolsey's forfeited possessions and had not been found Wolsey had borrowed that money from several friends for his funeral and for gifts, at his death, to faithful servants Wolsey died on the 29th of November, 1530

Last years of John Fisher

The pious John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who was Chancellor of the University of Oxford since 1504, and for three years from 1505 was President of Queen's College while engaged on the erection of Christ's College according to his promptings of the Lady Margaret, was also the founder, in 1511, of St John's College at Cambridge, in the place of an old hospital of the Brethren of St John For this work towards the advance of education he had also obtained aid from the Lady Margaret, and he himself afterwards endowed the new college with four fellowships, two scholarships, and lectureships in Greek and Hebrew The best of the men who stood on the old ways were not less anxious than their antagonists to multiply an earnest, educated clergy, and to exclude from the service of the Church the men who were unfit for ordination Fisher protected at Cambridge Greek students, learnt

some Greek himself, and brought Erasmus into Cambridge
But he stood firm against the new opinions of Luther
He preached the sermon at Paul's Cross on the 12th of
May, 1521, when Luther's writings were burnt in the
presence of Wolsey and Archbishop Warham He replied
three times to Luther—in 1523, 1524, and 1525—with pieces
severally in defence of the Pope's authority, the Christian
priesthood, and the king's "Assertion of the Seven Sacraments" John Fisher was Queen Katherine's confessor, and
alone among the bishops he stood forward in the Legate's
Court to show that the king's marriage to her could not be
dissolved by any law, divine or human It was by Fisher's
counsel that the Convocation of the Church, on the 11th of
February, 1531, assented to the king's Assertion of Supremacy over the English Church, with the saving clause, "as far
as it is permitted by the law of God" Many were, like
More's daughter Margaret Roper, permitted to take the
oath with this reservation Nothing could shake the old
bishop's firmness of resistance to the king's claim to be Pope
in England Then he was struck at, through his faith in
an imposture Elizabeth Barton, in 1525, when a maidservant, nineteen years old, at Aldington, in the house of
Thomas Cobb, who was steward of an estate owned by
Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, had become hysterical
with a religious mania that the village took for inspiration
When she got well, she was tempted to continue prophesying, and her oracle was worked by monks of Christchurch,
Canterbury Archbishop Warham, in his old age, was
among the credulous In 1527 Elizabeth Barton settled at
Canterbury, in a cell of the Priory of St Sepulchre, and became famous throughout the country as the Nun of Kent
She was taught, among other things, to prophesy against the
king's divorce Fisher and More were among those who
sought to learn how far they might believe her to be gifted
More found that she talked religiously, but could not believe

all her stories, and refused to listen to anything she had to say about the king More thought of her charitably, and was not unwilling to believe that she had some gift of insight Fisher believed that she was inspired

Archbishop Warham died on the 23rd of August, 1532, and Thomas Cranmer became Archbishop on the 30th of March, 1533 Cranmer obtained from the Nun of Kent confession of her frauds She and her prompters made public confession in London and at Canterbury, and they were executed at Tyburn on the 20th of April, 1534 Fisher, indicted for misprision of treason by confederacy with the Nun, had been sentenced to imprisonment and forfeiture of all his goods, but was set free upon payment of three hundred pounds Then, in the month of the execution of the Nun of Kent, he was required to take the oath of compliance with the Act of Succession He was ready to comply with the fixing of succession in children of the king and Anne Boleyn, but he could not, he said, without peril to his soul, take that part of the oath which involved denial of allegiance to the Pope He was then imprisoned in the Tower His great library, which he had meant to leave to St John's College, the king seized Books were denied to the old scholar, his goods were taken, and only rags were left to cover him There was illegality in the demand he had resisted, but that difficulty was removed soon afterwards by the Act of Supremacy Fisher was brought to trial, and found guilty of having openly declared in English "that the king our sovereign lord is not supreme head of the Church of England" He was, at the age of seventy-six (or possibly not more than sixty-six), beheaded on Tower Hill on the 22nd of June, 1535 His last work was a Spiritual Consolation, addressed to his sister Elizabeth during his confinement in the Tower A few words spoken against conscience would have saved him from the scaffold

Both promises and threats were used in the patient

endeavour to obtain assent to the king's act from Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, as men whose characters would give the greatest weight to any words of theirs among the people When Henry VIII replied to Luther's book upon the Babylonian Captivity, a book which put Faith above all the machinery through which the Church was agent for salvation, he was Defender of Faith in the Seven Sacraments—defender of authority—against that new doctrine of an individual and independent Faith of which the influence would hereafter be felt in States as well as Churches When he had written his book, the king showed it to Sir Thomas More, who counselled him to modify some passages in which he committed himself most strongly to acceptance of the Pope's supremacy A time might come, he said, when an unfriendly Pope could take advantage of the king's concessions The king would alter nothing He could not say too much He owed his crown to the Pope More said he was struck by that statement, as of something he had not known before When More was in disgrace for wishing that he might be suffered to say nothing, one way or another, on the subject of the Pope's supremacy, the angry king accused his counsellor of having caused him to insert those passages which he had asked him to erase Passion mistakes its lying for the truth But a king, and such a king, must not be contradicted

Last years of Sir Thomas More

When More had first appeared before four members of the Council, he went home by boat with his son Roper to Chelsea, and was very cheerful After they had landed, Roper said to him in the garden, "I trust, sir, that all is well, because you are so merry?" "It is so, indeed, son Roper, I thank God" "Are you then put out of the bill?" "By my troth, son Roper, I never remembered it Wilt thou know why I am so merry? In good faith, I rejoiced that I had given the devil a foul fall, and with those

lords I had gone so far as, without great shame, I could never go back again" This was, nominally, the matter of the Nun of Kent More was put out of the bill, and when Roper sent word to his wife, that she might tell her father the good news, "Meg," he said, "*quod differtur non aufertur*"—what is put off is not put away The Duke of Norfolk, in friendly talk with him afterwards, said, "By the mass, Mr More, it is perilous striving with princes, therefore I wish you would somewhat incline to the king's pleasure, for, by God's body, Mr More, *indignatio principis mors est*" "Is that all, my lord?" said More "Then, in good faith, between your grace and me is but this, that I shall die to-day and you to-morrow" When the king began to move for the divorce, More in his family talk had forecast the possibility of an oath being some day demanded which he would be unable to take, and had even begun quietly to prepare for death When he was summoned to Lambeth to take the required oath, he was ready to take it so far as concerned the succession of Henry's children by Anne Boleyn, but he was not ready to forswear allegiance to the Pope as head of the whole Christian Church in England and elsewhere He knew, when he left that day his home at Chelsea, he should not be suffered to return That morning, Roper says, "whereas he evermore used before, at his departure from his wife and children, whom he tenderly loved, to have them bring him to his boat, and there to kiss them and bid them all farewell, *then* he would suffer none of them forth the gate to follow him, but pulled the wicket after him and shut them all from him, and with a heavy heart, as by his countenance it appeared, with me and our four servants took boat towards Lambeth Wherein, sitting still sadly awhile, at the last he suddenly rounded in my ear and said, 'Son Roper, I thank Our Lord the field is won'"

From that interview at Lambeth More was committed

as prisoner to the custody of the Abbot of Westminster, then, after four days, to the Tower, where Sir Edward Walsingham, who was an old friend, regretted that he was not suffered to do more for his comfort. "Mr Lieutenant," More answered, "I verily believe as you say, and heartily thank you, and assure yourself I do not mistake my cheer, but whensoever I do so, then thrust me out of your doors."

After a little while More's imprisonment was made closer than at first, of which his daughter Margaret supposed "that, considering he was of so temperate a mind that he was content to abide there all his life with such liberty, they thought it not possible to incline him to their will, except by restraining him from the Church and the company of his wife and children." What wonder that the wife of such a man, who by a word of compliance against conscience—a word he stood almost alone in withholding—could have won back home, wife, children, honour from the king, instead of death, should fret at his firmness? If she, the wife, was weak, how strong had all the men in the land been who shared More's convictions and escaped their penalty? When Lady More was first allowed to see him, Roper tells, "What a good year, Master More," said she "I marvel that you, that hitherto hath been taken for a wise man, will now so play the fool, to lie here in this close filthy prison, and be content thus to be shut up among mice and rats, when you might be abroad at your liberty, and with the favour and good-will both of the king and his Council, if you would but do as all the bishops and best-learned of this realm have done." Then the poor woman set forth the attractions of his happy home at Chelsea, and said, "I muse what, in God's name, you mean, still thus fondly to tarry!" She was not weaker than the world about them and even to him the battle had been very hard before the victory. He felt that, as he strengthened himself in the Tower by writing upon "The Agony in the Garden." The

good wife, when her husband's goods were forfeited, sold her own dress to raise the fifteen shillings a week that had to be paid for her husband's better support in the Tower, when sickness was fastening upon him after eight months of imprisonment

Arraigned at last, and condemned as a traitoi on the first of July, 1535, on the sixth More was beheaded His parboiled head was set up on a stake at London Bridge When it had been there a month, and should have been thrown into the river, his daughter Margaret begged it She kept it till her death, and it was buried with her, lying on her bosom

CHAPTER XII

TYNDAL AND OTHERS—COVERDALE—AUTHORISED PRINTING OF AN ENGLISH BIBLE

Thomas Cromwell

THOMAS CROMWELL, who rose in Henry VIII.'s favour after Wolsey's fall, and who, though no writer, had for a time the lives of writers in his power, was born about the year 1485, the son of a blacksmith at Putney, who owned also a fulling mill and kept an inn. Difficulties at home caused him to go abroad and enlist as a common soldier in the French army. Then he found his way in poverty to Florence, where he was helped by a kindly banker who had dealings with England. Then Thomas Cromwell became a clerk to Antwerp merchants, after which he returned to Italy in company with some people from Boston, in Lincolnshire, who were going to Rome to obtain privileges for the Guild of Our Lady in the Church of St. Botolph's at Boston. Cromwell contrived to get them friendly hearing from Pope Julius II. by waylaying His Holiness as he came home from hunting, and recommending to him a few English presents with a three-man song. An offering of sweetmeats finished the business, and they went home with the desired concessions. He was clerk for a time to a Venetian merchant, but in 1512 Thomas Cromwell had returned to the Low Countries, and was a merchant trading at Middleburgh. Next year he seems to have come home, and married the daughter of

an old neighbour at Putney, who was a shearman, and who had been usher of the chamber to Henry VII He was then in several services, and held to the family fulling-mill even after he had established himself as a solicitor in London by the gate of Austin Friars Wolsey discovered the ability of Thomas Cromwell, and in 1514 made him collector of his revenues In 1523 Cromwell had advanced so far by Wolsey's interest that he was in Parliament, professing utmost favour to the king's desire for a war upon France, but suggesting difficulties that would make it prudent to begin with Scotland, In 1524 Thomas Cromwell became a member of Gray's Inn, and Wolsey used his services as agent for the suppression of certain small monasteries, from whose incomes he intended to provide endowment for his two colleges at Ipswich and Oxford The process of the demolition carried out during the next two years caused many complaints, but Thomas Cromwell had a strong protector He was addressed as Councillor to my Lord Cardinal, he was receiver-general to Cardinal's College, and he drew up all legal deeds concerning the foundation of both colleges He had all Wolsey's law business, and not Wolsey's only

Cromwell's wife died in 1527, leaving him a son (Gregory) and two daughters (Anne and Grace) In June, 1528, he was living with Wolsey at Hampton Court, his clever man of business, always on the spot In 1529 he succeeded Gardiner as Wolsey's secretary

After Wolsey's fall, Thomas Cromwell showed his address in extricating himself from a position of considerable difficulty, while doing what he could on behalf of his old master, and he was thought the better of on that account An astute man of great ability, with a winning manner, Thomas Cromwell soon became one of the properties transferred from Wolsey to the king He helped the king on his own path, and encouraged him to be fearless in gratifying

his own inclinations A few weeks after Wolsey's death, Thomas Cromwell was made a Privy Councillor He saw chiefly to the legal business of the Council He continued shrewdly to make money for himself, and showed the king how to make money In April, 1533, he became Chancellor of the Exchequer In April, 1534, he was the king's secretary In October of the same year he was Master of the Rolls In November of that year the Act of Supremacy was passed, in January, 1535, Thomas Cromwell was made the king's Vicar-General for carrying out its provisions, and was empowered to hold a general visitation of churches and monasteries There was delegated to him the king's supremacy for reformation of the Church He took proceedings against those who refused the oath, pressed hard on More and Fisher, and after Fisher's execution it was Cromwell who succeeded him as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge

Cromwell established visitors who made reports upon the monasteries, that prepared the way for their confiscation to the Crown In 1536 an Act was passed for the dissolution of all monasteries that had not two hundred a year of revenue They were confiscated to the king, and the king, by Cromwell's advice, sold them on easy terms to the nobility After the execution of Anne Boleyn, the office of Lord Privy Seal, resigned by her father, was conferred on Thomas Cromwell, and seven days afterwards, on the 9th of July, 1536, he was raised to the peerage as Baron Cromwell of Oakham He was at this time presiding in the Convocation of the Church, and providing for reforms in rites and ceremonies In August, 1537, Thomas Cromwell was made Knight of the Garter, and accepted as a layman the Deanery of Wells. In November, 1538, he was made Captain of Carisbrooke, and two months later Constable of Leeds Castle, in Kent In 1539 he was made Lord Chamberlain The confiscation of the greater

monasteries followed two or three years after that of the smaller, Cromwell obtaining for himself in February, 1538, the whole of the large possessions of the Priory of Lewes, and in April, 1540, the lands of the Priory of St Osyth, in Essex, and of the Monastery of Colchester, and of the Monastery of Launde, in Leicestershire On the 17th of April, 1540, he was created Earl of Essex But he was on the point of incurring the king's highest displeasure for having brought him into his marriage with Anne of Cleves On the 10th of June the Duke of Norfolk accused Cromwell of treason at the Council table The king left him to his enemies He was sent to the Tower, and on the 28th of July, 1540, he was executed upon Tower Hill

In his own way, which was not that of the saints, Thomas Cromwell did much to advance the reformation of the English Church, especially it was indebted to him for aid to the introduction of the Bible in the language of the people

Sir Thomas Wyatt

We turn in the next volume to the poets of the latter part of Henry VIII's reign, with whom there is advance in native strength, and wider influence of Italy But one of these poets, Sir Thomas Wyatt, being fourteen years older than the Earl of Surrey, with whom he is especially associated in the history of literature, may be brought now into the story, so far as regards his outward life to the year 1540

Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder was born in 1503, at Allington Castle, in Kent, son of Sir Henry Wyatt, who was high in the king's favour, and who died in 1538 Thomas Wyatt entered St John's College, Cambridge, at the age of twelve, took his Bachelor of Arts degree at fifteen, and was Master of Arts at seventeen He became a gentleman of the king's bedchamber, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Brook of Cobham His eldest son, Thomas Wyatt the younger, was born about 1520 In 1533, Wyatt was

ewerer at the coronation of his friend Anne Boleyn In 1537 he was knighted He was tall and handsome, his friend Surrey praised his form as one where "force and beauty met" He was skilled in exercise of arms, spoke French, Italian, and Spanish, was apt at kindly repartee, played on the lute, and at the age of five-and-twenty had been honoured by Leland as the most accomplished poet of his time The king found pleasure in his conversation Soon after a short imprisonment in the Tower during the king's pleasure, Sir Thomas Wyatt was sent as ambassador to the Emperor Charles, in Spain, and did not obtain until April, 1539, the recall he wished for He had to deal with the personal questions between the two sovereigns arising out of the divorce of Queen Katherine, the position of her daughter, the Princess Mary, and the birth of Jane Seymour's son, Edward, afterwards King Edward VI, in the autumn of 1537 There was also the argument of the King of England's next marriage after the death of Jane Seymour There was also the war between Charles V and Francis I, closed by the Peace of Nice, in 1538, during Wyatt's tenure of office as English ambassador in Spain Wyatt followed the emperor, posted to England, was wise and active, but too good a man for diplomatic work in which he was not free to be true

Reginald Pole

Reginald Pole went to Spain during Wyatt's embassy, and Wyatt's duty was to stand between him and the emperor Pole's father was cousin to Henry VII, and his mother was a niece of Edward IV In 1525, Reginald Pole, aged five-and-twenty, returned from foreign universities high in Henry VIII's favour, and enriched with pension and Church preferment But he did not approve of the divorce of Katherine, or of King Henry's repudiation of the Pope's authority over the Church The king, who sought in vain to win him, sent him a pamphlet written by Dr Sampson, Bishop of

Chichester His reply was a Latin treatise, addressed to the king, in four books, in "Defence of Church Unity," published in 1536 It condemned the secession of England from Rome For this he was deprived of his pension and preferments, and compelled to leave England Henry persecuted his family, and even executed his mother He was made a cardinal in December, 1536, and afterwards employed as papal legate

Sir Thomas Wyatt was a reformer, liberal and thoughtful, able to appreciate the sincerity of Pole, while he fulfilled his duty by procuring for him a cool reception at the Court of Charles The death of Wyatt's father during the time of his embassy gave him reason to be urgent for a recall, that he might attend to his own family affairs, but he was told that his private affairs were not neglected, since His Majesty had set aside for him the house of the Friars at Aylesford, in Kent, which adjoined his own estate at Allington, and was disposed to continue "good lord unto him" From Spain, Wyatt wrote earnest letters to his son, on the model of Seneca's epistles Here are a few sentences from them — "Make God and goodness your foundations Make your examples of wise and honest men, shoot at that mark Be no mocker, mocks follow them that delight therein He shall be sure of shame that feeleth no grief in other men's shames Have your friends in a reverence, and think unkindness to be the greatest offence, and least punished, among men, but so much the more to be dreaded, for God is justicer upon that alone If you will seem honest, be honest, or else seem as you are" Not many months after his return to Allington, Wyatt's good sense and experience were again called for by the course of public events The Emperor's journey through France to the Netherlands, against revolted Ghent, was to be watched for any under-currents in its policy Wyatt, therefore, was

Sir Thomas Wyatt

appointed for four months to be with Charles as Ambassador Extraordinary He went, and he sent home faithful reports, with acute comments and sensible suggestions His recall was delayed, though again he urged for it, but he was able to return to Allington by the middle of May, 1540 In the following July came the fall of Thomas Cromwell, and after this Sir Thomas Wyatt, who had been one of Cromwell's friends, was sent in the winter 1540–1 to the Tower, charged with disrespect to the king, and traitorous correspondence with Cardinal Pole There he wrote

> " Sighs are my food, my drink they are my tears,
> Clinking of fetters such music would crave,
> Stink and close air away my life wears,
> Innocency is all the hope I have
> Rain, wind, or weather, I judge by mine ears,
> Malice assaults that righteousness should have
> Sure I am, Bryan, this wound shall heal again,
> But yet, alas ! the scar shall still remain "

It remains for us now to bring to the year 1540 the story of the English Church Reform

Thomas Cranmer

Thomas Cranmer was, at the time of the fall of Wolsey, forty years old, Doctor of Divinity, Archdeacon of Taunton, a Theological Examiner at Cambridge, and a known expert in Canon Law There being plague at Cambridge in August, 1529, Dr Cranmer was then staying with two pupils at the house of their father, Mr Cressy, at Waltham, in Essex The king happening to come to Waltham, his almoner and secretary, Edward Fox and Stephen Gardiner, who had been to Rome upon the matter of the king's divorce, were lodged with Mr. Cressy At supper Dr Cranmer argued that if the king's marriage was null by any Divine law, the Pope could not uphold it, since he could not cancel any law of God. The question might, therefore, be settled on its own merits by learned men Report made to the king of this opinion

of Cranmer's caused him to be sent for, and in or before February, 1530, Dr Cranmer published in support of his argument a treatise, of which no copy remains The king at the same time made this new ally one of his chaplains, and gave him a benefice At the end of 1530, Cranmer went to Rome with Sir Thomas Boleyn (become Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond) and with others There his book was presented to the pope, and he undertook to dispute openly against King Henry's marriage with Queen Katherine He returned to England in 1531, and was much with the king at Hampton Court In August of that year Thomas Bilney, who, being resolved to recant his recantation, had preached publicly in Norfolk, was, on the writ of Dr Nix, the bishop of the diocese, burnt for his faith at Norwich Dr Nix was a man eighty years old, infirm and blind At this time one Richard Byfield, who had been Chamberlain of the Benedictine Monastery of Bury St Edmunds, was engaged in the introduction of the numerous Reformation tracts issued by Tyndal and others in Latin and English He had landed a supply at Colchester, in Midsummer, 1530, a second supply at St Catherine's, in November, 1530, which was seized, a third supply he brought to London in the spring of 1531, but in the beginning of November, 1531, he was arrested, and before the end of the month burnt

Richard Byfield

Among the Reformation tracts brought into England in the year 1530 was a little book of Tyndal's on the question of the king's divorce It was called "The Practice of Prelates, whether the King's Grace may be Separated from his Queen because she was his Brother's Wife" Ascribing to Wolsey's ambition the sufferings of the people and the scheme for the king's separation from his wife, it declared the scheme to be without warrant from Scripture, and one against which the most

William Tyndal

glorious king might be warned by one, however mean, who spoke with the authority of God's Word, which is "the chiefest of the Apostles, and Pope, and Christ's Vicar, and Head of the Church, and the Head of the General Council"

Tyndal issued this tract from Marburg, in Hesse, where, in the same year, 1530, on the 17th of January, he finished printing his translation of the Pentateuch He had completed this with the help of Miles Coverdale, a Yorkshireman, then forty-three years old, who had been an Austin Friar at Cambridge The Prior of Coverdale's house was Dr Robert Barnes, a good scholar, who had cultivated scholarship in those about him, reading Plautus, Terence, and Cicero, lecturing upon St Paul's Epistles, and encouraging discussions upon Scripture Dr Barnes had become a leader in arguments of Reformation held by Cambridge men of different colleges at a house called the "White Horse" Compelled by Wolsey, Barnes recanted, but being a second time in extreme peril, he escaped to Germany, where he found friends in the Lutheran chiefs While resident at Wittenberg he was employed in several negotiations His friend Coverdale also escaped to the Continent, where he joined Tyndal in his work as a translator of the Scriptures

Robert Barnes Miles Coverdale

In January, 1532, Henry VIII's new favourite, Cranmer, was sent as king's orator to the Imperial Court He was six months at Nuremberg associated with the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Elyot, who had it among his instructions to seek the arrest of Tyndal On the 22nd of August in that year Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, died Then Cranmer was summoned home to be his successor King Henry had been privately married to Anne Boleyn when Cranmer was installed in his archbishopric—the last Archbishop of Canterbury who took the oath of obedience to the see of Rome He took this oath on the 30th of March, 1533, after a

Thomas Cranmer

protestation that it did not bind him to do anything contrary to the laws of God, the King's prerogative, or the commonwealth and statutes of the kingdom.

For some time Tyndal was effectually shielded from designs against him by the English Government. His best friends abroad were members of the English Company of Merchant Adventurers. These also supplied money wherewith to keep the press at work. In 1535 Tyndal was living with Thomas Poyntz, an English merchant, at Antwerp, when he was arrested while his watchful host was gone to a great annual fair. After long detention in the Castle of Vilvorde, he was condemned by the Privy Council of Brussels, under a decree against heresy which had been issued in 1530, on the Emperor's authority. Tyndal was strangled and burnt at Vilvorde, on the 6th of October, 1536, and his last words were, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes."

Last days of Tyndal.

While Tyndal was in his prison at Vilvorde, the King of England had, as we have seen, been active at home. Fisher, More, and Anne Boleyn were during that time condemned and executed. Cranmer, when made archbishop, had held an ecclesiastical court at Dunstable, and in May, 1533, pronounced sentence of divorce between King Henry and Queen Katherine, whose daughter Mary was then seventeen years old. The Pope by a brief declared this divorce to be illegal. Katherine went to Kimbolton, and claimed still to be a queen. The stately coronation of Anne Boleyn followed; then, in September, the birth of her daughter Elizabeth. Parliament had passed in the same year, 1533, an Act against appeals to Rome, asserting the king's supremacy within his realm. Another statute declared it to be no heresy to speak against the Pope; but as to other points heretics had their judges at home, and upon lawful conviction and refusal to abjure, or relapse after abjuration, they were to be "committed to lay power to be burned in open

places, for example of other, as hath been accustomed." Cranmer took part in the examination of John Frith, and assented to the sentence by which he was burnt in Smithfield, in July, 1533, together with Andrew Hewit, a tailor's apprentice.

Thomas Bilney had been burnt on the 19th of August, 1531. He was of a Norfolk family, and his religious nature when he was studying at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, drew him from law to the Church. He took priest's orders in 1519, and began an intent study of Scripture in the revised Latin version of the New Testament which had been published by Erasmus in 1516. He found the light he sought for in the teaching of Saint Paul. He became a leader in the little company of Cambridge men who were then studying the Scriptures. Matthew Parker, afterwards Queen Elizabeth's first Archbishop, came up to Cambridge in 1521, and was drawn into Bilney's circle. Robert Barnes, already mentioned, who was of Bilney's age and had come back from Louvain to be Prior of the Augustinian house at Cambridge, a man eager for enlightenment, was introduced by Bilney to the writings of Luther, and became another leader in the Cambridge band. It was Barnes, as we have seen, who enlisted among them Miles Coverdale. Bilney at Cambridge—little Bilney, Latimer called him, for he was small and thin—opposed formal ceremonials, but he ate only once a day, that he might give the rest of his commons to prisoners and the poor. He preached as widely as he could, opposing prayer to saints and images. This brought him to a year's imprisonment in the Tower, from which he was released in 1529, but he was tormented for the next two years with fear lest he had been an apostate. Forbidden to preach in the churches, he preached in the fields, and he was burnt at Norwich as a relapsed heretic on the 19th of August, 1531.

Thomas Bilney.

Robert Barnes

Robert Barnes, after troubles about heresy, imprisonment, and escape to Germany, came back to England under change of times, and was thought by Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell useful as an agent for obtaining German assent to the doctrine of the king's supremacy But he was one of those who assisted in bringing over Anne of Cleves He had no friends at Court when he preached at Paul's Cross Luther's doctrine of justification by faith, and he was burnt at Smithfield as a heretic on the 30th of July, 1540

Hugh Latimer

Hugh Latimer was born about 1491, and was the only son among seven children of Hugh Latimer, a yeoman who rented a farm at Thurcaston, in Leicestershire When fourteen years old he went to Clare Hall, Cambridge, obtained a fellowship of his college while yet undergraduate, took his degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts in 1510 and 1514, and at the age of about twenty-four was ordained priest at Lincoln At the age of thirty he graduated Bachelor in Divinity His speech on the occasion was against opinions of Melanchthon, for he was then active in argument against those who opposed the Pope's authority Bilney, being among those who heard the speech, went to Latimer's rooms afterwards and argued with him To the influence of Bilney, Latimer in later years ascribed his great change of opinion This change soon caused him to be summoned before Wolsey on a charge of heresy, but he was then content to subscribe such articles as were proposed to him Latimer's opposition to the Pope, which involved support of the king's supremacy, was made known to Henry VIII by his physician, Dr Butts, and in March, 1530, Latimer was called to preach before the king at Windsor Henry then made Latimer his chaplain, and, not offended by his letter written in December, "for restoring again the liberty of reading the Holy Scriptures," in the following year, 1531, he gave Latimer, at the suggestion of

Dr Butts, the rectory of West Kington, in Wiltshire The new rector's preaching was soon declared to be heretical, he was summoned before Stokesley, Bishop of London, and afterwards before Convocation He was excommunicated and imprisoned, but made his submission, and by special request of the king went home absolved A year afterwards Cranmer became archbishop, and was Latimer's friend In 1534 Latimer preached before Henry VIII on Wednesdays in Lent In the autumn of 1535, when, by Act of Parliament, an Italian, who was non-resident, had been deprived of the bishopric of Worcester, Hugh Latimer was elected in his place

Coverdale's Translation of the Bible

At this time Miles Coverdale was printing at Zurich a complete translation of the Bible into English At the close of 1534 the English clergy had carried in Convocation against a strong party headed by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, a petition to the king for a translation of the Scriptures into English Thomas Cromwell, actively supporting the vote of Convocation, was in search of an English Bible which might go among the people and escape the charge of containing heresies Coverdale's translation was submitted to the English bishops, who said that it had many faults "But," said the king, "are there any heresies maintained thereby?" And when they said that they had found none, he answered, "Then, in God's name, let it go among the people"

The royal licence was obtained, but the introduction of Coverdale's translation, printed in 1535, was delayed by the necessity of striking out the name of the king's "most dearest, just wife, Anne," which stood with his own in the dedication The first printed copies of the whole Bible were admitted into England in 1536, the year of the burning of Tyndal, the year also in which Tyndal's New Testament was first printed in England

Coverdale's translation was described on the title page as having been made from the German and Latin—"faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latin into English" Coverdale said that he had five several translations by him, and followed his interpreters A new edition, revised and corrected, appeared in 1537, printed in England

Matthew's Bible
John Rogers

In July of the same year, 1537, there was published abroad a complete Bible in folio, professing to be "truly and purely translated into English by Thomas Matthew This was formed out of the translations of Tyndal and Coverdale, under the superintendence of John Rogers, who assumed the name of Matthew He was the son of a John Rogers, of Deritend, in Birmingham, was born there about 1509, educated at Pembroke Hall, took his B A in 1526, and afterwards became chaplain to the English merchants at Antwerp, where Tyndal and Coverdale found in him a friend and ally His Bible, known as Matthew's Bible, included all that had been done by Tyndal, namely, his Pentateuch followed by other translations of his down to the end of the second book of Chronicles, and his New Testament The other canonical books Rogers gave in a strict revision of Coverdale's translation, and the Apocrypha he gave in a translation of his own Having issued his Bible, Rogers married in the same year, and went to Wittenberg, where he was minister of a congregation during the rest of the reign of Henry VIII

Cromwell's Bible

In 1538 Thomas Cromwell had become Lord Cromwell of Oakham, Lord Privy Seal, and the king's vicegerent in all causes touching ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the godly reformation of heresies and abuses in the Church By virtue of this office he sat in Convocation above the archbishops Since Henry agreed that diffusion of an English Bible was good policy against the Pope, Cromwell, in 1538, was planning a

republication at Paris of Tyndal's translation in a form that would adapt it for free use Miles Coverdale had looked to Thomas Cromwell as his friend and patron even when Cromwell was Wolsey's retainer In February and March, 1538, he was in Berkshire, officially examining church service books to see that the Pope's name had been duly erased from their pages He was then sent by Cromwell to Paris, where he was to superintend the printing of the Bible known as Cromwell's, and there he was in some peril from the Inquisition The printing begun at Paris was therefore finished in London

Cromwell also employed Richard Taverner, an Oxford Reformer who was then attached to the court, on a careful revision of Matthew's Bible Taverner's Bible was published in folio in 1539, with a dedication to the king, and in April of the same year, 1539, appeared Coverdale's revision of Tyndal's work and his own, in the folio known as Cromwell's (or the Great) Bible Cromwell then was Lord Chamberlain and he in the following year, 1540, was made Earl of Essex, when there appeared the most authoritative of the versions made in Henry VIII 's reign It was a revision of Tyndal, planned by Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury, and made by direct collation with the Hebrew and Greek texts It was first published in April, 1540, with a prologue by Cranmer, and is known as "Cranmer's Bible" This became, and remained till 1568, the translation appointed to be read in churches Its version of the Psalms is retained to this day by the Church of England in its book of Common Prayer

Taverner's Bible

Cranmer's Bible

But heresy, especially that of the Sacramentarians, who denied real presence in the Eucharist, was still being attacked with fire and fagot John Nicholson, known as Lambert, was publicly argued with by the king himself and bishops in Westminster Hall, silenced,

Struggle

and burnt Cromwell read the sentence An Observant Friar, named Forest, was burnt alive in an iron cage for denial of the king's ecclesiastical supremacy, after Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, had argued with him in vain The final Act for the Dissolution of Abbeys was passed and enforced in the same year, 1539, in which Cromwell's Bible appeared, and in which also appeared "An Act Abolishing Diversity of Opinions" This law was dictated in person by the king to a tractable Parliament It became known as the "Whip with the Six Strings" It declared for transubstantiation, auricular confession, vows of chastity, and private masses, against communion in both kinds, and against marriage of priests To the king's opinion upon these six points Englishmen were to conform their teaching upon pain of death Latimer, who could not so teach, resigned his bishopric, and was placed in custody of Dr Sampson, Bishop of Chichester But in the next year, 1540, Dr Sampson became himself a prisoner

In the same year, 1540, the order of the Jesuits was founded by Ignatius Loyola

> Count nothing won till Love be Lord of all
>   Upward through mire, and over stony ground
> And rugged blocks, we climb with many a fall,
>   And what we seek, we seek where little's found,
> Labour is gain till Love be Lord of all
>
> Count nothing won till Love be Lord of all
>   Greed gives a hand upon the upward way,
> Lust lends a ladder, Malice comes at call,
>   Still we are climbing while we curse and
> Labour is gain till Love be Lord of all
>
> Count Labour's gain when Love is Lord of all,
>   When the mists melt and leave us in the light,
> When we are forth as beasts out of the stall,
>   When we breathe heaven on the long-sought height
> But labour on till Love be Lord of all.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

THOMAS LINACRE

Procli Sphæra, Thoma Linacro Interprete Printed by Julius Maternus Firmicus in Astronomicorum libri viii Venetiis, 1499 Fol

Galeni Pergamensis de Temperamentis, et de Inæquali Intemperie, libri tres, T Linacro interprete [Venet 1498] Per Joannem Siberch, apud præclaram Cantabrigiam, 1521 4to

[The first book printed in England in which Greek type was introduced]

Galeni Pergameni de Pulsuum Usu T Linacro interprete Londini in ædibus Pynsonianis [1522] 4to

Galeni Pergameni de Naturalibus Facultatibus, libri tres T Linacro interprete (De Decretoriis Diebus) In ædibus R Pynsoni, Londini 1523 4to

Galeni Pergameni de Symptomatum Differentiis, liber unus Ejusdem de Symptomatum Causis libri tres T Linacro interprete Londini in ædibus Pynsonianis 1524 4to

T Linacri de Emendata Structura Latini Sermonis libri sex Apud R Pynsonum, Londini, 1524, 4to — Lutetiæ, 1532, 1543, 1550, &c —Lipsiæ, 1545, 8vo—Col Agrip,, 1555 Recognitus et emendatus Joachim Camerario Lipsiæ, 1591 8vo

The Rudiments of Grammar In ædibus Pynsonianis 1524, 4to Turned into Latin by George Buchanan Lutetiæ, 1533, 1539, 1541, 1543, 1547, 1550 8vo and 4to

Linacri progymnasmata Grammatices vulgaria [A Latin English Grammar] J Rastell London [1525] 4to

Galen de Methodo Medendi Lutetiæ, 1525

Life of Linacre By J Noble Johnson, M D, edited by R Graves 2 vols 1835 8vo

WILLIAM GROCYN

The only printed writing of Grocyn's, except a Latin epigram of four lines which has been ascribed to him, was a letter to Aldus

Manutius Aldus inserted it after his own Preface to Linacre's "Sphere of Proclus" "I have thought it well," he said, "to subjoin a certain learned and elegant letter which William Grocyn, a man of exceeding skill and universal learning, even in Greek, not to say Latin, has sent me"

The four lines of epigram, which Grocyn was supposed to have written in his youth, were quoted by Bale, "De Scriptoribus Britanniæ," Centuria IX, num 5, and re quoted in Fuller's "Worthies" under the head "Bristol," Thomas Fuller joining to it a translation of his own

> "Me nive candenti petiit mea Julia rebar
> Igne carere nivem, nix tamen ignis erat
> Sola potes nostras extinguere, Julia, flammas,
> Non nive, non glacie, sed potes igne pari"

> "A snowball white at me did Julia throw
> Who would suppose it? Fire was in that snow
> Julia alone can quench my hot desire,
> But not with snow or ice, but equal fire"

Fuller added a marginal note to the Latin lines "These verses are printed among Petronius his fragments, being a Farrago of many verses later than that ancient author"

John Bale ascribed to Grocyn six other pieces of writing left in MS "Tractatus contra hostiolum Jo Wiclevi" ("Non est videre majorem abominationem"), "Grammaticam quandam", "Notulas in Terentium", "Vulgaria puerorum", "Isagogicum quoddam," "Epistolæ ad Erasmum et alios"

Linacre's Catalogue of Books belonging to William Grocyn in 1520, together with his Accounts as Executor, followed by a Memoir of William Grocyn [by Montagu Burrows, M A, Chichele Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford] is in Part V of the Second Series of "Collectanea," printed for the Oxford Historical Society Clarendon Press, 1890

JOHN COLET

Oratio habita a D Joanne Colet Decano Sancti Pauli ad Clerum in Conuocatione Anno M D xj Richard Pynson Two editions in 1511—one 4to, one 8vo

The Sermon of Doctor Colete made to the Conuocation at Paule's Thomas Berthelet excud No date, 22 leaves 16mo

Rudimenta Grammatices in usum Scholæ ab ipso institutæ 1510 4to

Rudimenta Grammatices et Docendi Methodus, non tam Scholæ Gypsuichianæ per reverendissimum Dominum Thomam Cardinalam Ebor feliciter institutæ quam omnibus aliis totius Angliæ scholis prescripta [Contains, after Cardinal Wolsey's Preface and Docendi Methodus, the "Introduccyon of the partes of spekyng for chyldren and yonge begynners in to Latyn speche," written by Colet for use in St Paul's School, preceded by his rules of admission, precepts, prayers, &c , and followed by William Lilly's Latin Syntax] Excussum per me Petrum Treveris [London] Black letter, 32 leaves, 4to

The Seven Petycyon's of the P'rn'r, by John Colet, Dean of Poules London, 1533 [Added afterwards to the Almanacs]

A ryght fruitful Monicion concernynge the Order of a good Christen Mannes Lyfe Imprinted at London, in Flete strete John Byddell other wyse called Salysbury at the sign of our lady of pyte nexte Flete brydge, the yere of our lorde MDxxxiiii, the xxvii day of Marche 8vo [1563, 1577, 1641]

Coleti Gram una cum quibusdam G Lilii Grammatices Rudimentis Lond In ædibus W de Worde 1534 8vo

Joannis Coleti, Opus de Sacramentis Ecclesiæ Edited by J H Lupton, M A , Sur-Master of St Paul's School and late Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge [Latin Text only] London, 1867 8vo

Joannes Coletus super Opera Dionysii Two Treatises on the Hierarchies of Dionysius, by John Colet, D D , formerly Dean of St Paul's, Now first published with a Translation, Introduction, and Notes, by J H Lupton, M A , Sur-Master of St Paul's School, and late Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge London, 1869 8vo

[These are the Treatises "De Cælesti Hierarchia" and "De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia," of both of which the MS is in the Library of St Paul's School, copied in a fair hand, together with a third treatise, "De Sacramentis Ecclesiæ" The original MS of the treatise on the Celestial Hierarchy is in the Cambridge University Library, Gg iv 26, with the Treatises by Colet]

Joannis Coleti Enarratio in Epistolam S Pauli ad Romanos An Exposition of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans delivered as Lectures in the University of Oxford about the year 1497 Now first published from the MS in the Cambridge University Library, Gg iv 26, with a Translation by J H Lupton, M A London, 1873. 8vo

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Joannis Coleti Opuscula quædam Theologica Letters to Radulphus on the Mosaic Account of the Creation, with other Treatises by J Colet, namely (1) an unfinished exposition of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, taken, with the Letters to Radulphus, from Archbishop Parker's MS , ccclv , in Corpus Christi College Library , (2) Christ's Mystical Body of the Church, from Cambridge Univ Lib MS , Gg iv 26 , and (3) Commentary on I Peter, from Gale's MS , O 4 44, in Trin Coll , Cam , all edited with Translations by J H Lupton London, 1876 8vo

The Lives of Jehan Vitrier, Warden of the Franciscan Convent of St Omer, and John Colet, from the Letter of Erasmus to Justus Jonas of Wittenberg (1520), translated, with Notes and Appendices, by J H Lupton London, 1883 Post 8vo

The Life of Dean Colet, by the Rev Samuel Knight, D D Oxford, 1724 New Edition, 1823

The Oxford Reformers of 1498, being a History of the Fellow Work of John Colet, Erasmus, and Thomas More London, 1867 , second edition, revised and enlarged, 1869 , third edition, 1887

A Life of John Colet, D D , Dean of St Paul's, and Founder of St Paul's School With an Appendix of some of his English Writings by J H Lupton, M A , Sur-Master of St Paul's School, and formerly Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge. London, 1887

THOMAS MORE

The Workes of Sir Thomas More, Knyght, sometyme Lorde Chancellour of England, wrytten by him in the English Tonge London At the Costes and Charges of Iohn Cawood, Iohn Waly, and Richard Tottell 1557

[A folio of 1,458 pages, not counting title, dedication to Queen Mary by William Rastell, the editor, and sundry unpaged leaves, among which were eight containing a few poems in English written by More in his youth One of them, "A Mery Jest how a Sergeant would learn to play a Fryar," had been printed separately, without date, by Julyan Notary A spendthrift, to avoid arrest, has taken refuge in a friend's house A sergeant obtains admission as a friar, but when he attempts arrest there is a general

pommelling, and the sergeant is thrown out of doors Others were Verses on the Hanging of a Painted Cloth in his Father's house, nine pageants, with verses to each, Lamentation on the Death of Elizabeth, wife of King Henry VII, an 1503, Verses on the Book of Fortune, Lewys the Lost Lover, Davy the Dicer]

Omnia Latina Opera, quorum aliqua nunc primum in lucem pro deunt Basil, 1563, 8vo, Lovanii, 1565, folio [Omits the "Utopia"]

The Lyfe of Johan Picus, Erle of Myrandula, with dyvers Epystles and other Workes of the sayd Picus London, by W de Worde, 1510 4to Inserted in the collection of More's English Works, 1557

Libellus vere aureus nec minus salutaris quam festinus de optimo reip statu deque nova insula Utopia Lovanii, 1516, 4to, Lutetiæ, 1517, 12mo [Lupset's edition, printed by Gilles de Gourmont] Basel, 1517-18 [with More's own revision, and addition of letters of Erasmus to Froben and of Budé to Lupset, printed by Froben, who added the Epigrams of More and Erasmus] Viennæ Pannoniæ, 1519, 4to, Lutetiæ, 1519, Basel, 1520, Lovanii, 1548

A fruteful and pleasaunt worke of the best state of a publyque weale, and of the newe yle called Utopia, written in Latine by Syr Thomas More, Knyght, and translated into Englyshe by Raphe Robynson, Citizein and Goldsmythe of London, at the procure ment and earnest Request of George Tadlowe, Citezein and Haberdassher of the same Citie Imprinted at London by Abraham Vele, dwelling in Pauls churcheyarde, at the sygne of the Lambe Anno 1551 12mo [first edition of the first translation into English] Second edition newlie perused and corrected, London, Vele, 1556 Third edition, 1597, sm 4to Fourth edition, 1624, printed by Bernard Alsop and dedicated to Cresacre More Fifth edition, 1639 Sixth edition, with copious notes and a biographical and literary Introduction by the Rev T F Dibdin, D.D, two vols, 1808, small 8vo —Seventh edition, by Prof Edward Arber, 1869, in his series of "English Reprints" "Sir Thomas More, Utopia Originally printed in Latin, 1516 Translated into English by Ralph Robinson, sometime Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford" His Second and Revised Edition, 1556 preceded by the Title and Epistle of his First Edition, 1551 —Eighth edition, in the Pitt Press Series, Cambridge More's Utopia The English Translation thereof made by Raphe Robynson (sometime Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford). Printed from the second edition, 1556 To which is prefixed the Life of Sir

Thomas More, written by his son-in law William Roper, reprinted from Hearne's edition, 1716 Edited, with Introduction, Notes, Glossary, and Index of Names, by J Rawson Lumby, D D, Fellow of St Catherine's College, Norrisian Professor of Divinity

Utopia Translated into English by Dr Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury London, 1684, 8vo, 1685, 8vo, Dublin, 1737, 12mo, Glasgow, 1743, sm 8vo, Oxford, 1751, 12mo, Glasgow, 1762, 12mo, London, 1808 In "Ideal Commonwealths," Morley's Universal Library, 1885

Another translation by Arthur Cayley was published in Memoirs of Sir Thomas More, with a new translation of his Utopia, also his History of King Richard III, and his Latin Poems London, 1808 2 vols, 4to

Utopia a Philosophical Romance To which is added the "New Atlantis" by Lord Bacon, with a Preliminary Discourse and Notes by J A St John London, 1838, second edition (Bohn), 1846

Progymnasmata Tho Mori et Gul Lilii Sodalium Basel, 1518 4to

Epigrammata Thomæ Mori ad emendatum Exemplar ipsius Autoris excusa Basel, 1520, 4to London, 1638 32mo

Thomas Mori Epistola ad Germanum Brixium qui quum Morus in Libellum ejus, quo contumeliosis Mendaciis incesserat Angliam Lond in Ædibus Pynsonis 1520, 4to This reply to Germain de Brie's retort on ridicule cast upon him in some of More's Epigrams was called in by the advice of Erasmus Only a few copies —seven, it is said—became current

More's fragment of the History of Richard III, in Latin and English, is supposed to have been written about 1514 He speaks in it of Thomas Lord Howard as "afterwards Earl of Surrey" He was so created on the 1st of February, 1514 It was first published in English in 1543, by Richard Grafton, as part of a prose continuation of Harding's Chronicle Grafton then inserted it in Hall's Chronicle in 1548, and in his own Chronicle in 1569, acknowledging the source in side references, but meddling with the text, which was first given accurately in the edition of More's English works published by William Rastell in 1557 The first publication of the Latin version was at Louvain in 1566

The Historie of the pittiful Life and unfortunate Death of King Edward V and the Duke of York, his Brother, with the Troublesome and Tyrannical Government of the Usurpation of Richard III. and his miserable end Edited by W Sheares London, 1641 18mo

The History of Richard III Edited by S W Singer, Esq Chiswick, 1821

"Memorare Novissima," begun in 1522 Left unfinished and not printed until its insertion in the 1557 edition of More's English works This was to have been an English treatise on Ecclesiasticus vii 20—"In all thy works remember thy last end" The *novissima*, the last things, More understood to be Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell More designed a treatise on each, but only wrote a part of that on Death

The Supplycacyon of Soulys made against the Supplycacyon of Beggars London W Rastell [n d, 1529 ?], fol Reprinted in 1530 with the next piece

A Dyaloge of Syr Thomas More, Knyghte, wherein be treatyd divers Matters, as of the Veneration and Worshyp of Ymagys and Relyques, prayyng to Sayntys, and goyng on Pylgrymage, wyth many othere thyngys touchynge the pestylent Sect of Luther and Tyndale, by the tone bygone in Saxony, and by the tother laboryd to be brought into England London, by John Rastell 1529, fol 1530, fol (W Rastell) 1531, fol

The Confutacyon of Tyndales Answere London, by William Rastell 1532, fol

The second Parte of the Confutacion of Tyndals Answere, in which is also confuted the Chyrche that Tyndale deuiseth, and the Chyrche also that Frere Barns deuiseth, made by Syr Thomas More, Knyght Lond, by Wyllyam Rastel 1533, fol

The Apologye of Syr Thomas More, Knyght, made by him anno 1533, after he had geven ouer Thoffice of Lord Chancellour of Englande Prynted by W Rastell, [spring of] 1533 16mo Of the fifty chapters in this book, ten deal with More's writings against Tyndal and others, the rest are against a treatise called "The Pacifier of the Division between the Spirituality and the Temporality" The author of "The Pacifier," whom More had styled Sir John Somesay, replied to More with a Dialogue called "Salem and Bizance" More answered at once with

The Debellacyon of Salem and Bizance Printed by W Rastell, 1533 8vo It deals with questions concerning ancient laws of Church and State concerning heresy

A Letter impugnynge the erronyouse wrytyng of John Fryth against the blessed Sacrament of the Aultare London W Rastell 1533

The Answer to the first Part of the poysoned Booke whyche a nameless Heretike hath named "The Supper of the Lord" By Sir Thomas

More, Knight Anno 1533, after he had giuen ouer the Offyce of Lorde Chancellour of Englande By W Rastell 1534 8vo

A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation, made by a Hungarian in Latin, and translated out of Latin into French, and out of French into English, now newly set forth, with many places restored and corrected by conference of sundry copies Written in the Tower, and first printed in the 1557 edition of the English Works

[It imagines that when the Hungarians expected to be overwhelmed by the Turks a Hungarian noble named Vincent visited a wise uncle who was near his death Under this parable, with the fiction of translation and collation, More shadows his own position, speaks like himself, and maintains his cheerfulness of temper with his trust in God]

The letters of Erasmus abound in contemporary details and illustrations of the life and character of Thomas More

William Roper, from his own recollections and those of his wife, More's daughter Margaret, wrote in the reign of Mary recollections meant as notes to be used by Dr Nicholas Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury Dr Harpsfield's Life, dedicated to William Roper, has not been printed There are several MSS of it Two are in the Lambeth Library, one is at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, one in the British Museum, Harleian, 6,253 Roper's notes were used by others before they were first printed at Paris in 1626 Then they were edited by Thomas Hearne as

Gulielmi Roperi Vita D Thomæ Mori Equitis Aurati, Lingua Anglicana contexta Accedunt, Mori Epistola de Scholasticis quibusdam Trojanos sese appellantibus; Academiæ Oxoniensis Epistolæ et Orationes, aliaque multa Anonymi Chronicon Godstovianum, et Fenestrarum depictarum Ecclesiæ Parochialis de Fairford in Agro Glocestriensi Explicatio Veneunt apud Editorem 1716 8vo

Roper's Life of Sir Thomas More was edited also by the Rev John Lewis in 1729, with added documents Later editions, 1731, 1765

Life of Sir Thomas More by William Roper, edited by S W Singer Chiswick, 1817 [only 125 copies printed]

William Rastell, More's nephew and editor of his English works, is said to have written his Life The work is lost "Notes from Rastell's Life of More" are in Vol. 152 of the Arundel MSS. in the British Museum

Thomas Stapleton, D D, wrote a Life of More as the third of his Tres Thomæ seu, de S Thomæ Apostoli Rebus Gestis. de S Thoma Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi et Martyre D Thomæ Mori Angliæ

quondam Cancellarii Vita his adjecta est Oratio funebris in Laudem R P Arnoldi de Ganthois Abbatis Marchennensis Douay, 1588 8vo [with a portrait of Sir Thomas More] Col Agrip, 1599, 1612 Lutetiæ, 1617, 1620 [Stapleton was helped with information from his old friends John Clements and his wife *née* Margaret Gigs, and from More's secretary, John Harris, and Harris's wife, who had been servant to Margaret Roper]

The Life and Death of Sir Thomas More, Lord High Chancellor of England, written by M T M , and dedicated to the Queen's most gracious Majestie Paris, 1626 London, 1726

[The editor, M C M E , of the Paris edition of 1626 attributes this life to Thomas More, priest and great grandson of More In the edition of 1726 he is called Thomas More, Esquire It is the Life by Cresacre More, ascribed to its right author in the volume that next follows]

The Life of Sir Thomas More, by his great grandson Cresacre More, with a biographical Preface, Notes, and other Illustrations, by the Rev Joseph Hunter, F S A London, 1828 8vo

The Life of Sir Thomas More, by the Right Hon Sir James Mackintosh London, 1844 12mo

Life and Writings of Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England and Martyr under Henry VIII By the Rev T E Bridgett, of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. London, 1891 Post 8vo

[An accurate and able study of More from the point of view of the Roman Church, which on the 9th of December, 1886, confirmed More in a place among its saints and martyrs]

Philomorus a brief Examination of the Latin Poems of Sir Thomas More London, 1842 Post 8vo Second edition, 1878

JOHN FISHER

This Sermon folowynge was compyled and sayd in the Cathedrall chyrche of Saynt Poule within ye cyte of London by the ryght reverende fader in god, John bysshop of Rochester, the body beynge present of the moost famouse prynce Kynge Henry the vii , &c Wynkyn de Worde 1509 8vo

Treatyse concernynge the fruytfull Sayings of Dauyd the Kynge and Prophete in the seven penytencyall Psalmes, deuyded in seven sermones Emprynted at London, in Flete Strete, at the sygne of the Sonne, by Wynkyn de Worde, prynter unto the moost excellent Pryncesse my Lady, the Kynge's grandaume, in the

yere of our Lorde God MCCCCC and IX, the XII daye of the moneth of Juyn" 4to Pynson, 1510, W. de Worde, 1525, 1529, Thomas Marshe, 1555

A Mornynge Remembrance had at the Moneth Minde of the noble Prynces Margarete, Countesse of Richmonde and Darbye, Moder unto Kynge Henry the Seventh, and Grandame to our soveraign Lorde that now is Upon whose soul Almightye God have mercy Compyled by the Reverent Fader in God, Johan Fisher, Byshop of Rochester Emprynted at London, in Flete Street, at the sygne of the Sonne, by Wynkyn de Worde No date 4to

Joanni Fischeri (Ep Roffensis) de Unica Magdalena libri duo (contra Judochum Clichtoveum Neoportuensem et Jacobum Fabrum Stapulensem) In ædibus Jodoci Badii Ascensii Ad octavam calendas Martias 1519 Cum privilegio in biennium

[This replied to the argument of a dissertation published at Paris by Jacques le Fevre d'Etaples, arguing that there were three different women who went by the name of Mary Magdalene—the one who had been a sinner, another who was the sister of Martha, and another out of whom the Lord cast seven devils Fisher replied in the same piece to another writer who had held a like opinion]

The sermon made against ye pernicious Doctryn of Martin Luther Imprynted by W de Worde [1521] 4to

[This was Fisher's sermon at St Paul's on the occasion of the public burning of Luther's books The text was John xv 26—"When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of Truth, who proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me" The sermon was published also translated by Dr Pace into Latin, as—]

Concio in Joh xv 26, habita Londini eo die quo Lutheri scripta Flammis commissa sunt, Latine versa per Ric Pacæum Cantab per J Siberch 1521 4to

Assertionis Lutheranæ Confutatio Basel, 1523, fol, Antwerp, 1523, fol [Two editions in 1525, enlarged with marginal notes and citation of the assertions answered]

J Fisheri Defensio Assertionis Hen VIII Regis Angliæ de vii Sacramentis contra Captivitatem Babylonicam Lutheri

Sacri Sacerdotii Defensio contra Lutherum Coloniæ, 1525 4to

De Veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia per reverendum in Christo patrem ac Dominum D Johannem Roffensem Episcopum adversus Iohannem Oecolampadium Coloniæ A D MD XXVII

Fisher wrote, when a prisoner in the Tower, a small tract for the use of his sister Elizabeth, who was a professed nun of the Order of the Augustin Eremites at Dartford, in Kent He called it "A Method of Attaining to the Highest Perfection in Religion" He had sent to the same sister a sermon of his on Our Lord's Passion, with a letter prefixed, which was published in 1535 as "A spirituall consolation written by J F to his sister Elizabeth, at suche tyme as he was prisoner in the Tower of London (A sermon upon thys sentence of the Prophet Ezechiell, Lamentationes, carmen, et væ, very aptely applyed unto the Passion of Christ, etc)" He wrote also, while prisoner, a treatise on the Necessity of Prayer These pieces and his own Prayers in Latin, as the Psalms or Prayers of John, Lord Bishop of Rochester, were collected after Fisher's death by a bookseller named Francis Birckmann, who caused them to be printed, and they were included in the collection of his works

R D D Joannis Fischeri Roffensis in Anglia Episcopi Opera, cum Indice Rerum et Verborum Wirceburgi apud Geo Fleischman num Anno 1597, folio

In the British Museum the Arundel MS 152 contains, together with an independent Latin Life, an English Life of Fisher, probably in the author's handwriting, together with some of the materials used by him in answers to questions, and other notes from correspondents and extracts from MSS, including extracts from a complete account by an eye witness of Fisher's execution One or two references in this Life show that it was finished in the reign of Mary This MS has been much burnt, but it was partly copied into Harleian 7047 (a volume of Baker's Collections) There is also an early copy in MS, Harl 6896 Other copies are in Harleian 6382, 250 (imperfect), 7049, Lansdowne, 423, additional MSS 1705, 1898 Pits says that he made, at Douay, the acquaintance of Richard Hall, and saw at the Anglo-Benedictine Monastery at Dieulward, in Flanders, a Life of Fisher, written by Richard Hall, in English A book by J C (Joseph Creswell ?), published in 1620, called "The Theatre of the Catholic and the Protestant Religions," also attributes to Richard Hall the English Life of Fisher Richard Hall was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, where Fisher was honoured as a founder, and in 1579 he published in Latin Fisher's Treatise on Prayer Richard Hall, early in Elizabeth's reign, went to Flanders and to Rome, where he graduated as Doctor in Theology He was always a

supporter of the Pope's authority He taught theology at Douay, and died at St Omer in 1604

Life and Death of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester By Thomas Bayly, D D London, 1655 12mo Later editions in 1739, 1740, 1835 This was made out of the English Life by Dr Richard Hall, but introduced errors The author, son of a Protestant Bishop, was Sub-Dean of Wells He published, in 1649, a book on the Divine Right of Kings and Bishops, for which he was committed to Newgate Under the Commonwealth he joined the Church of Rome

The Life of Dr John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester in the Reign of Henry VIII, with an Appendix of Illustrative Documents and Papers By the Rev John Lewis, A M, Author of the Life of John Wickliffe, D D, Bishop Pecocke, etc Now First Printed from the Original Manuscript prepared by the Author for the Press With an Introduction by T Hudson Turner 2 vols 1885 8vo

[This Life, for which use was made of Dr Hall's work in the Arundel MS 152, includes much useful illustrative matter Besides the Appendix of Documents, the text contains a full analysis of Luther's Babylonian Captivity, and of Henry VIII's answer to it, with other such details, faithfully given, and commented on from the Protestant point of view]

Life of the Blessed John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, and Martyr under Henry VIII By the Rev T E Bridgett, of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer London Second edition, 1890 Post 8vo

[Father Bridgett, from the Roman point of view, has written the last word on Fisher with the same scholarly attention to detail that is in his companion Life of More Father Bridgett places Fisher's birth-date nine or ten years later than Hall placed it, making him so many years younger at the time of his execution The change is made for two reasons In an academical address to Henry VII, delivered in 1506, Fisher says that he was young when made a bishop—*qui paucos annos haberim* According to the date received from Hall, he would have been made bishop at the age of forty-five, the suggested correction of the birth-date would make him bishop at thirty-five He took his Bachelor's degree in 1487. If born in 1459, his age then would have been twenty-eight, it is more likely that he graduated at eighteen The Bishop of Faenza, Papal Nuncio in Paris, who had known Fisher in England, writing upon the day of Fisher's death, said of him. "The

English call him a valetudinarian of ninety, reckoning him twenty five years older than he is" This gives the corrected age of sixty-five But Hall's statement was founded on deliberate inquiry among Fisher's friends, and is not without some corroborative evidence]

Fisher is said by Dr Hall to have written a large volume containing the whole history and matter of the King's Divorce He is said to have entrusted it to Walter Boxley, Prior of the church of Rochester, who burnt it in Edward VI 's reign when he heard that some Commissioners were coming to search his house for books and papers

WILLIAM TYNDAL

The Obedyence of a Christen Man, and how Christen rulers ought to governe Marlborowe, by Hans Luft, 1528 Small 4to, 1535, 1537 London, 1548, 1549, 1561

The Parable of the Wicked Mammon Marlborowe, by Hans Luft, 1528, 16mo, 1529 Southwark, for J Nycholson, 1536, as "A Treatise of Justyfycacyon by Faith only" London, by W Cop lande, n d London, by Jhon Daye, 1547, by W Coplande, 1549

Exposition on 1 Cor vii , with a Prologue, wherein all Christians are exhorted to read the Scriptures Marlborow, 1529 8vo

The Practyse of Prelates, whether the Kynges Grace may be seperated from his Quene, because she was hys Brothers Wyfe Marborch, in the Yere of oure Lorde 1530 16mo

A compendious Introduccion, Prologe, or Preface vnto the Pistle oft Paul to the Romayns Marlborowe, by Hans Luft, 1530 16mo

The fyrst boke of Moses called Genesis Marlborow, by Hans Luft, 1530 Small 8vo

The Exposition of the fyrste Epistle of Seynt Jhon, with a Prologge before it by W T 1531 16mo

The Supper of the Lorde after the true Meenyng of the sixte of John and the xi of the fyrst Epistle to the Corinthians, wherevnto is added an Epistle to the Reader, and incidently in the Exposition of the Supper is confuted the Letter of Master More against John Fryth Anno 1533, v daye of Apryll 16mo

A briefe Declaration of the Sacraments expressing the fyrst Originall, how they come up and were institute, &c , by Wyllyam Tyndall, London, by Robert Stoughton, n d 16mo

An Answere vnto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, made by Wylliam Tyndale 16mo

The whole Workes of W Tyndall, John Frith, and Doct Barnes, three worthy Martyrs, and principall Teachers of the Churche of England London, by John Daye, 1573 Folio

The Works of the English Reformers William Tyndale and John Frith Edited by Thomas Russell, A M London, 1831 3 vols, 8vo

The Works of William Tyndale, Doctrinal Treatises and Expositions Edited by the Rev Henry Walter, B D, F R S 3 vols, Cambridge Parker Society, 1848 50 8vo

The First Printed English New Testament Translated by William Tyndale Photo-lithographed from the Unique Fragment now in the Grenville Collection, British Museum Edited by Edward Arber Small 4to, 1871

[This facsimile has a very full and valuable introduction by Professor Arber on the history of Tyndal's work as a translator of the New Testament and Pentateuch]

WILLIAM DUNBAR

The Thrissil and the Rois, preserved only in the Bannatyne MS ("E W" vi, 257*n* vii 127), was first printed by Allan Ramsay in the "Evergreen" in 1724 ("E W" vii, 127*n*)

Here begynnys ane litil tretie intitulit the goldyn targe compilit be Maister Wilyam dunbar Printed by Chepman and Myllar, 1508, in six leaves 4to

[Chepman and Myllar printed also, in 1508, Dunbar's Ballad of Lord Barnard Stewart (not in any of the MS collections), his Lament for the Makars, the Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy (from line 316 to end, earlier part lost), The Twa Marryit Wemen and the Wedo (imperfect at the beginning), the Ballad of Kind Kittock (without Dunbar's name, and his authorship is doubtful), and the Testament of Mr Andro Kennedy]

JOHN ASLOAN'S MS contains these poems by Dunbar—

The Freir of Tungland (imperfect) Jousts between the Tailor and the Sowter Ane Ballat of Our Lady The Passion of Christ

BANNATYNE'S MS contains—

The Golden Terge The Visitation of St. Francis The Birth of Antichrist The Freir of Tungland The Devil's Inquest The Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins Jousts between the

Tailor and the Sowter   Amends to the Tailors and Sowters   The Twa Cummaris   The Tod and the Lamb   Dirige to the King at Stirling   Of Ladyis Solistaris at Court   In Praise of Women   Tidengs fra the Session   Ane his awin Enemy   Aganis Treason   Testament of Andrew Kennedy   To the King (two poems, one of them not in other MSS)   Of Discretion in Asking   Of Discretion in Giving   Of Discretion in Taking   Inconstancy of Love   Of Men Evill to Pleis (wants last stanza, and has no author's name)   Of Covetyce   Gude Counsale   Rewl of Anis Self   Of Deming   How shall I govern me?   Best to be blyth   To spend his awin Good   No Treason avails, &c   None may assure, &c   Erdly Joy, &c   Lament for the Makars   The Merle and the Nychtingaill   Of Luve Erdly and Divine   The Table of Confession   Of Lyfe (has no author's name)   The Nativitie of Christ   On the Resurrection of Christ   Of Man's Mortality   The Freiris of Berwick (has no author's name)   A General Satire (ascribed to Dunbar, in Maitland MS ascribed to Sir James Inglis)   Ane Brash of Wowing (ascribed in a later hand to Clerk)   Ballad of Kind Kittock (anonymous, Dunbar's authorship very doubtful)   The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy

SIR RICHARD MAITLAND'S MS contains—

The Golden Terge   To a Ladye   The Visitation of St Francis   The Birth of Antichrist   The Devil's Inquest   The Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins   Jousts between the Tailor and the Sowter   Amends to the Tailors and Sowters   The Twa Maryit Wemen and the Wedo   The Twa Cummeris   The Tod and the Lamb   Dirige to the King at Stirling   Of Ladyis Solistaris at Court   In Praise of Women   Of Solistaris at Court   Tidings fra the Session   Ane his awin Enemy   Of James Doig   That the King was Johne Thomsonne's Man   To the Queen   Complaint against Mure   Dance in the Queen's Chamber   To a Lady   Of a Blackamoor   Of Sir Thomas Norray   Aganis Treason   Testament of Andrew Kennedy   Complaint to the King   Remonstrance to the King   Fragments of Petition to the King   To the King (three poems)   Of Discretion in Asking   Of Discretion in Giving   Of Discretion in Taking   Of Covetyce   Of Deming   How shall I govern me?   Best to be blyth   Of Content   To spend his awin good   No Treasure avails, &c   None may assure, &c   Learning vain, &c   Of the Warldis Vanity   Of the Changes of Life   Of the Warldis Instability

Erdly Joy, &c Lament for the Makars The Merle and the Nychtingaill The Table of Confession Ane Orisoun Of Lyfe The Passion of Christ Of Man's Mortality Quhen the Governour past into France Meditatioun in Wynter The Freiris of Berwik (has no author's name) A general Satire (ascribed to Sir James Inglis, in Bannatyne MS ascribed to Dunbar) Ane Brash of Wowing The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy

JOHN REIDPETH'S MS contains—

Beauty and the Prisoner (only the first two stanzas, adding "et quæ sequitur Quod Dunbar") Dunbar's Dream The Birth of Antichrist The Devil's Inquest The Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins The Twa Cummeris The Tod and the Lamb (two stanzas only). Dirige to the King at Stirling New Year's Gift to the King Of Ladyis Solistaris at Court To the Merchants of Edinburgh Of Solistaris at Court Tidings for the Session To the Lord Treasurer To the Lordis of the Kingis Checker Of James Doig To the Queen Complaint against Mure Dance in the Queen's Chamber Of a Blackamoor Of Sir Thomas Norrey On his Heid ake Elegy on Bernard Stewart Aganis Treason Testament of Andrew Kennedy Complaint to the King Other Fragments of Petition to the King The Queen's Reception at Aberdeen To the King (two poems) Of Discretion in Asking Of Discretion in Giving Of Discretion in Taking Of Men evill to Pleis Of Covetyce How shall I govern me? Best to be blyth Of Content None may assure, &c Learning vain, &c. Of the Changes of Life Of the Warldis Instability. Ane Orisoun. Quhen the Governour past into France Ane Brash of Wowing The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy

THE HOWARD MS, written about A D 1500, is now among the Arundel MSS in the British Museum It has the autograph of William Howard In this MS are Walter Kennedy's Passion of Christ, and Dunbar's Manner of Passing to Confession and Table of Confession, also Dunbar's Passion of Christ

The Poems of William Dunbar, now first collected, with Notes, and a Memoir of his Life. By David Laing Two volumes, Edinburgh, 1834 Post 8vo Supplement, Edinburgh, 1865

The Poems of William Dunbar, edited by John Small, M A., F S.A Scottish Text Society, two parts (2 and 4 of the Series), 1884. 8vo

[Mr Small's knowledge of Scottish poetry would have made the results of his special study of Dunbar very valuable, but his death deprived us of them He had incidentally expressed his belief that Dunbar died about 1513, which is the year of Flodden]

GAVIN DOUGLAS

The Palis of Honoure, compyled by Gawyne dowglas Bysshope of Dunkyll Imprinted at London in flet street, at the sygne of the Rose garland, by wyllyam Copland God save Quene Marye [1563?]

Heir beginnis ane treatise callit the Palice of Honovr compylit be M Gawine Dowglas Bischop of Dunkeld Imprentit at Edinburgh be Johne Ros for Henrie Charteris Anno 1579

[Reprinted by John Pinkerton in 1792 in Vol I of his "Scotish Poems, reprinted from scarce editions"]

The Palice of Honour By Gawyn Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld Bannatyne Club, 1827 4to Presented by John Gardiner Kinnear, Esq.

King Hait, and Conscience are in the Maitland MS There is no known MS of the Palice of Honour. King Hart was first printed by John Pinkerton in 1786, in his "Ancient Scottish Poems never before in print But now published from the MS collections of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, Knight, Lord Privy Seal of Scotland"

Of Gavin Douglas's translation of the Æneid there are five MSS (1) One at Trinity College, Cambridge (Gale's MSS O 3 12), the first copy from the author's MS, written about 1525 by Matthew Geddes, who was Gavin Douglas's chaplain (2) The Elphynstoun MS in the Library of the University of Edinburgh, which has the name of the transcriber, "M Joannes Elphynstoun," on the last page It has at the bottom of the first page, "W Hay, 1527" (3) The Ruthven MS, also in the Edinburgh University Library It may have been written between 1530 and 1540, and has at the top of the blank leaf before the title the signature, "W Dns Ruthven" (4) The Lambeth MS at Lambeth Palace, which describes itself as "written Anno 1545 2° Februarii" (5) The Bath MS, in the Library of the Marquis of Bath, at Longleat It was "written be me, Henry Aytoun, Notare publick, and endit the twenty twa day of November the ȝeir of God MVc fourty seven ȝeiris"

The xiii Bukes of Eneados of the famose Poete Virgil, translatet out of Latyne Verses into Scottish Metir, bi the Reuerend Father in God, Mayster Gawin Douglas Bishop of Dunkel and vnkil to the Erle of Angus Every buke hauing his perticular Prologe Imprinted at London [William Copland] 1553 4to

Virgil's Æneis translated into Scottish verse by the famous Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld A new edition wherein the many errors of the former are corrected, and the defects supplied from an excellent manuscript To which is added a large glossary explaining the difficult words, which may serve for a dictionary to the old Scottish language And to the whole is prefixed an exact account of the Author's Life and Writings from the best histories and records Edinburgh, 1710 Folio

[The editor was Thomas Ruddiman, who made the Glossary, the Life of Douglas was written by Bishop John Sage]

The Æneid of Virgil, translated into Scottish Verse By Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld Edited by George Dundas Two Volumes, Bannatyne Club, 1839 4to Presented as a joint contribution by Andrew Rutherfurd, Esq , and George Dundas, Esq

The Poetical Works of Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, with Memoir, Notes, and Glossary By John Small, M.A , F S A Scot Edinburgh, 1874

[The thoroughness of this edition quickens the feeling of regret that Mr Small's death has deprived us of the best fruits of his study of Dunbar]

JOHN SKELTON

Here begynneth a lytell treatyse named the Bowge of Court Thus endeth the Bowge of Courte Emprynted at Westmynster By me Wynkyn de Worde. 4to

[Another edition by W. de Worde, also undated]

Here folowythe dyuers Baletty s and dyties solacyous deuysyd by Master Skelton Laureat [Four leaves 4to, no date or printer's name, but from Pynson's press, also the next piece in four leaves, 4to]

Skelton Laureate, agaynste a comely Coystrowne that curiowsly chawntyd and curryshly cowntred and madly in hys Musykkys mokkyshly made agaynste the ix Musys of polytyke Poems and Poettys matryculat

Honorificatissimo, Amplissimo, longeque reuerendissimo in Christo patri ac Domino, Domino Thomæ, etc. Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ presbytero Cardinali meritissimo, et Apostolicæ sedis legato, a latereque legato superillustri, &c.

A replycacyon agaynst certayne yong scolers, abiured of late, &c
Argumentum
Crassantes nimium, nimiuṁ sterilesque labiuscas
(Vinea quas Domini Sabaot non sustinet ultra
Laxius expandi) nostra est resecare uoluntas
London, Richard Pynson, no date, 4to

A ryght delectable tratyse upon a goodly Garlande or Chapelet of Laurell by mayster Skelton, Poete laureat, studyously dyuysed at Sheryfhotton Castell in ye foreste of galtres, wher in ar comprysyde many and dyuers solacyons and ryght pregnant allectyues of syngular pleasure, as more at large it doth apere in ye proces folowynge Imprynted by me Rycharde faukes, dwellyng in duram rent or els in Powlis chyrche yarde at the sygne of the A B C The yere of our lorde god 1523 The iii day of Octobre 4to

Magnyfycence, A goodly interlude and a mery deuysed, and made by mayster Skelton poet laureate late deceasyd [No date or printer's name Probably Rastell]

Here after foloweth the boke of Phyllyp Sparowe compyled by mayster Skelton Poete Laureate Prynted at London at the poultry by Rychard Kele n d 12mo
[Other undated editons printed by Antony Kitson, Abraham Veale, John Walley, and John Wyght]

Here after foloweth certaine bokes compyled by mayster Skelton Poet Laureat whose names here after shall appere Speake Parot The death of the noble Prynce Kynge Edwarde the fourth A treatyse of the Scottes Ware the Hawke The Tunnynge of Elynoure Rummyng Imprynted at London, in Crede Lane, by John Kynge and Thomas Marche No date 12mo
[Another undated edition of these pieces was printed in 12mo by John Day, and another by Richard Lant for Henry Tab dwelling in Paul's Churchyard at the sygne of Judith Warton saw an edition printed for W Bonham in 1547]

Here after foloweth a litel boke called Colyn Cloute, compyled by mayster Skelton poete Laureate Imprinted at London by me Rycharde Kele dwellyng in the poultry at the long shop under saynt Myldredes chyrche n d 12mo
[Other undated editions in 12mo were issued by John Wyghte, Anthony Kytson, and Thomas Godfray]

Here after foloweth a lytell boke, whiche hath to name, Why come ye not to Courte, compyled by mayster Skelton poete Laureate London Richard Kele dwelling as above n d 12mo

[Other undated editions in 12mo were issued by Anthony Kytson, Abraham Veale, John Wallye, and Robert Toy]

Pithy, pleasaunt, and profitable workes of maister Skelton, Poete Laureate Nowe collected [by I S] and newly published Anno 1568 Imprented at London in Flete streate, neare unto saint Dunstone's churche by Thomas Marshe 12mo

The Poetical Works of John Skelton with Notes, and Some Account of the Author and his Writings, by the Rev Alexander Dyce In Two Volumes 1843 8vo.

[The standard edition]

The Poems against Garnesche, first printed in Mr Dyce's Skelton, are in Brit Mus MS , Harl , 367. Colin Clout is in MS , Harl., 2252 Garland of Laurel in Brit. Mus , Cotton MS , Vitellius E x. On the Death of the Earl of Northumberland Brit Mus MS Reg 18 D ii Skelton's translation of Diodorus Siculus into English is in a MS at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

DAVID LINDSAY

The Complaynte and testament of a Popinjay which lyeth sore wounded and maye not dye tyll euery man hathe herd what he sayth Wherfore gentyll readers haste you yt he were oute of his payne
Imprynted at London in Flete strete at the sygne of the Sonne, by John Byddell The yere of our lorde 1538 4to

The Tragical Death of Dauid Beaton, Bishoppe of sainct Andrewes in Scotland whereunto is ioyned the martyrdom of maister George Wyscharte gentleman, &c Imprinted at London by John Daye and William Seres, dwellynge in Sepulchres parish at the signe of the Resurrection, a little aboue Holbourne conduite n d Small 8vo

[Probably 1547 It refers to an incident of 1546, and belongs with the next published piece to that part of Lindsay's work which will be described in the next volume of "English Writers "]

Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour. Copmanhoun [Printed at St Andrews by John Scot, 1554.] No date. 4to.

Ane Dialog and other Poems Imprinted at the command and expenses of Maister Sammuel Jaseuy, in Paris, 1558.

[In two editions of the same year, one 4to and one small 8vo Besides the Dialogue, it contains The Testament and Complaint of the Papingo, Lindsay's Dream, and the Tragedy of Cardinal Beaton]

A Dialogue, &c , and Other Works Imprinted at London by Thomas Purfoote and William Pickering, an 1566 Purfoote reprinted the volume in 1575 and 1581

The Workes of the famous and worthie Knicht Schir Dauid Lyndesay of the Mount, &c Imprentit at Edinburgh be John Scot, at the expensis of Henrie Charteris 1568

Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaits in commendation of Vertew and vituperation of Vyce Maid be Sir Dauid Lindesay, &c Edinburgh, Robert Charteris, 1602

The Workes of the famous and vorthie knicht Schir Dauid Lyndesay of the Mount, alias, Lyoun King of Armes, Newly correctit, and vindicate from the former errouris quhairwith thay war befoir corruptit and augmentit with sindrie workis quhilk was not befoir Imprentit Imprentit at Edinburgh be John Scot at the expensis of Henrie Charteris and ar to be sauld in his Buith, on the North syde of the Gait, abone the Throne Anno Do 1571

Other editions of the works were Edinburgh, by Thomas Bassendyne, 1574, 4to , Edinburgh, by Henry Charteris, 1582, 4to [1588?] , Edinburgh, Henry Charteris, 1592, 1597, both 4to Robert Charteris, 1602, 1604, both 4to , Edinburgh, 1605 , Edinburgh, Thomas Finlason, 1610, 4to , Edinburgh, Andro Hart, 1614, 1617, both 8vo , Aberdeen, Imprinted by Edward Reban for David Melvill, 1628, small 8vo , Edinburgh, prented by the Heires of Andro Hart, 1630, small 8vo, and again in 1634, with eight more editions before the close of the seventeenth century, and eight more between 1700 and 1776 After this there was a pause till the edition by George Chalmers, F R S , F S A , in three volumes in 1806, and finally

The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay, with Memoir, Notes, and Glossary By David Laing, LL D In Three Volumes Edinburgh 1879 8vo

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LAST LEAVES.

On the 2nd of April, 1891, Professor Skeat found at Oxford, in the Bodleian Library, on the last leaf of a fifteenth century copy of Chaucer's "Troilus," the following balade, signed (as the "Troilus" also is signed) "Tregentil—Chaucer" There can be no question of Chaucer's authorship, and Professor Skeat may again* be most heartily congratulated upon the recovery of one of the lost songs with which Chaucer filled the land Professor Skeat published this discovery in the *Athenæum* of the 4th of April last, with a revised text and some notes, also some further notes on the 11th of April I add the balade here as it stood in the MS, including, however, in the third line of the second stanza, between brackets, Professor Skeat's corrections of the copyist's errors—"semy" and "fynall"—and adding a mark or two of accent —

"Madamé, ye ben of al beaute shryne,
As fer as cercled is the mapamonde,
For as the cristall glorious ye shyne,
And lyké Ruby ben your chekys rounde,

* For a former recovery, see "E W," v 274

Therwyth ye ben so mery and so iocunde
That at a Reuell whan that I se you dance,
It is an oynément vnto my wounde,
Thoght ye to me ne do no daliance

"For thogh I wepe of teiés ful a tyne,
Yet may that wo myn heité nat confounde,
Your [semly] voys that ye so [smal] out twyne
Makyth my thoght in ioy and blys habounde
So curtaysly I go, wyth loué bounde,
That to my-self I sey, in my penánce
Suffyseth me to loue you, Rosemounde,
Thogh ye to me ne do no daliaunce

"Was never Pyk walwed in galauntyne
As I in loue am walwed and I-wounde,
For which ful ofte I of my self deuyne
That I am trew Trystram the secounde,
My loue may not be refreyde nor affounde,
I Brenne ay in an amorous plesaunce
Do what you lyst, I wyl your thral be founde,
Though ye to me ne do no daliance"

The lover rolled in love as a pike in galantine, is playful in his gallantry, and innocently playful He deals with quips and cranks that are of the train of "jest and youthful jollity" There must be many more of Chaucer's "balades, roundels, virelays," yet waiting to be found I hope that the same eyes may light next on a nest of half-a-dozen No one has earned more fully than Professor Skeat the honour and the joy of such discoveries

The young life and love born daily among us, glad in its companionship with the May blossoms, now white with promise of the perfect fruit, can still feel the spirit of life in the soul of the poet who said, "I ne clepe not innocence folie"

Would that we all so felt the touch of life in our best writers that we could learn to trace through their succession the slow upward labour of the soul of man towards fulfilment of its greatest hope. When will our old Universities, that now on many paths go with the time as faithful leaders of the time, help us here also? They can best rescue the vigorous young minds of Englishmen from the belief to which they are committed, that there is no study in the Literature of their Country. They are left to suppose, although ready for better things, that they may read a book without thought of its place in history or of its writer's aim, so they are left to amuse themselves with quips and cranks and playful mockeries, and raptures upon style, all positive enough, as young opinion is and ought to be, but in a form more suitable for fans and teapots than for books. The style of a true book is as the man who wrote it and his aim when it was written. Even in one man the style varies with the aim. They who would form opinions worth uttering must be furnished with the knowledge upon which alone opinion should be based. Old trainers of our intellectual athletes, for this also we now look to you. From battles of the past we learn to fight the battles of the future. Join wisdom to knowledge, and show how thought has worked thus far towards the evolution of the perfect type of man. Steam engines, printing machines, telephones, are helps on the way, when they bring force of matter to aid force of mind by drawing men nearer together, for so they may dissipate errors and unveil the face of truth. But man lives to strive towards his own perfection. He is not merely a polytechnic beast. An ideal has been from the beginning with men whose minds live in their writing. The ideal has not changed essentially, but it grew clearer in the new lights of thought, until at last it was perfected, not formulated by a definition but made actual, in the life of Christ.

The whole story of England, as shown in its literature, is the story of a nation which has for the mainspring of its action a religious sense of duty, seeking to find out the right and do it, to find out the wrong and get it undone To make the study of that long, slow process of yet incomplete development bring some aid to the minds of living workers—to show, at least in some small way, how English Literature can become one of the great forces for the education of an Englishman—would be, as long ago it seemed to me, the best use to which I could try to put my bit of life Though little would be done, it would be an endeavour in the right direction This book is written to no other end. If, here and there, I venture at some turning-point to glance in a few lines of verse towards the unattained ideal, it is only that the spirit of the story may at intervals be felt in its simplicity, after long dwelling on the details of the body it inhabits and informs More centuries must add their varied records to the life of man before this living, struggling world of ours has shaped itself into the mind of Christ At this day, the most Christian land is not half Christianised England is not half civilised We struggle on

This volume contains a part of the story of what has been technically called the English Reformation. Former volumes have shown that labour towards Reformation has been from the first, as it will be also to the end, continuous But, in the times now being described, the question of Church Reform with us involves the State, and stands especially conspicuous Whenever it happens that two honest men fall out, I am apt to find myself of both sides in the controversy In following the story of our feuds about religion, we have need enough for fellow-feeling with the natural infirmity that colours all the strife of men We are constantly opposed in honest battle each for the same cause, differing only in the means by which its end shall be secured Some day we shall have learnt how all this can be

done more strenuously and effectually because of the putting away of bitterness and evil speaking No time will then be lost in the correction of perverse misstatements, and truths then will not come to us refracted through the mist of passion Let us hope humbly that all is helping to bring on the day when Man loves God with all his heart, and with all his mind, and with all his soul, and with all his strength Then it will follow that he loves his neighbour also, and at last attains, as far as he is able to attain, the mind that was in Christ.

H M

Carisbrooke,
May, 1891

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